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ISSN 0204-7348

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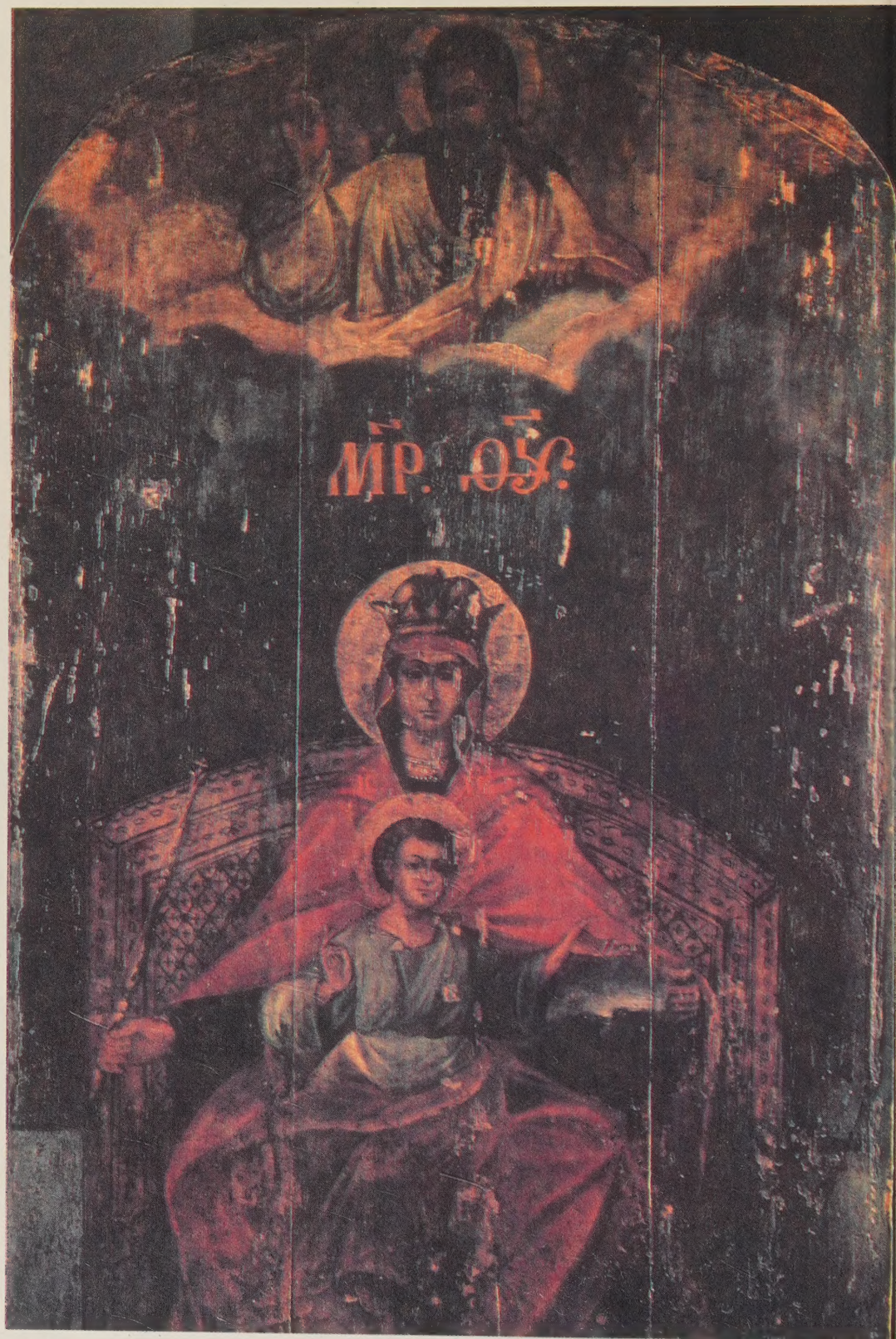


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THE JOURNAL OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE



ICON OF THE MOTHER OF GOD "THE REIGNING"

1993 • 2

THE JOURNAL OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE

Published in Russian and English

Editorial and Subscription Offices: Box No.624. Moscow 119435, Russia

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PASCHAL MESSAGE

by Patriarch ALEKSY II of Moscow and All Russia
to the Archpastors, Pastors and All Faithful Children
of the Russian Orthodox Church

CHRIST IS RISEN!

*"O Thou Who didst submit to the Cross and didst abolish death,
Who didst arise from the dead, preserve our lives, O Lord, since
Thou alone art Almighty..."*

(Easter stichera)

Today we are joyously celebrating and glorifying with hymns the Resurrection of Christ. Thinking of this sacred Gospel event we are also glorifying the Cross of the Lord for it is through the Cross and the Resurrection that our salvation has been accomplished.

Thanks be to God, Apostle St. Paul says, *which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ* (1 Cor. 15.57), *Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death* (Acts 2.24).

One of the famous hierarchs of our Church of the 19th century, Metropolitan Makary of Moscow, in his Paschal sermon stressed: "The main calamity we have been delivered from through the Resurrection of Christ is sin."

Venerable archpastors, brothers and sisters abiding within the canonical territory of our multinational Church and those in diaspora, St. Paul, Apostle of the Gentiles, proclaimed that the Lord *had by himself purged our sins* (Heb. 1.3). But are we doing our best to prevent sin from domineering over us and those around us, not to let goodness leave our life and be supplemented with the evil, to put an end to crime, discord and enmity?

Armed conflicts in some former Union republics, suffering and death of multitudes of people, destruction of towns and villages, thousands of homeless—these are the gloomy consequences of the loss of love, mercy and mutual understanding.

May the Risen Christ the Saviour pacify the embittered souls and fortify champions of reconciliation.

We, citizens of the states formerly incorporated in the Union, are going through considerable difficulties connected with the reforms in the life of society. May the Lord help us keep Christian patience and courage and bear our cross realizing that there is no resurrection without the Cross and Golgotha. Let us strengthen ourselves with faith, hope and a zealous prayer and call the weaker and feeble, the vacillating and the despondent to do the same...

St. Gregory of Nyssa, a Father of the Church of the 4th century in his sermon on Holy Easter says: "This day alleviates any sorrow and even the one most afflicted will find consolation in the joy of the feast."

As a primate of our Church I am duty bound to call upon you to keep the unity of the Church trampled upon by the *rulers of the darkness of this world* (Eph. 6.12). I call upon you to keep in purity the traditions of the Holy Fathers and of the Mother Church, to oppose influences and teachings alien to the Holy Orthodox Church, to venerate national Orthodox shrines, to create and strengthen the Orthodox family, a token and foundation of sound morals, to bring up children in the fear of God, and the love of the Orthodox Church and the Motherland.

Through the Grace of the Lord, external restrictions in our church service and witness have now been lifted. Let everyone find his calling within the fold of the Mother Church, participating in acts of philanthropy and mercy, in the work of brotherhoods and sisterhoods, in the youth movement, in the labours in the field of spiritual enlightenment, including Sunday schools for children, and in other activity...

Brothers and sisters, after purifying ourselves in the Sacrament of Penance, we are taking the Holy Communion partaking of the Divine Body and Blood of Christ. St. Basil the Great in his *Rule* asks: "What is to distinguish those who taste of the Bread and drink of the Cup of the Lord?" And he answers: "Keeping constant memory of the Saviour of the world Who died for our sake and is risen."

This January the 160th anniversary of the blessed demise of St. Serafim of Sarov the Miracle Worker was marked and in July we are to celebrate the 90th anniversary of the canonization of the wondrous zealot whom our faithful call the Father Confessor of the Russian land.

St. Serafim had a special gift—to live always by Christ's Easter. Starets Serafim would sign with the cross and embrace anyone, who came to him on any day with a kind and penitent heart, and say: "My joy, Christ is risen!"

Is it not an edification for us to keep the joy and radiance of the Lord's Easter ever in our hearts and souls? The Holy Church helps us to accomplish it for Pascha is present continuously in the church calendar: the Church remembers the Resurrection of Christ every week on Sunday (Rus. *Voskreseniye*—Resurrection).

Beloved in the Lord Eminent brother-archpastors, dear pastors, holy monks and nuns, God-loving laymen, it is with the feeling of Paschal joy that I am congratulating you cordially on the feast of the Radiant Resurrection of Christ!

St. Gregory of Nazianzus, filled with spiritual joy, exclaims: "Christ is risen from the dead—rise with Him too; Christ is in glory—rise up too (to His glory); Christ is off the tomb—be off the bondage of sin!"

With the help of God, may it be as the great saint said!

**Christ Is Risen!
He Is Risen Indeed!**

*ALEKSY II,
Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia*

Christ's Easter 1993
Moscow

DECISIONS OF THE HOLY SYNOD

At its session held on December 22, 1992, the Holy Synod, chaired by the PATRIARCH,

HEARD: the report by His Eminence Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, Head of the Department for External Church Relations, on the establishment of church life in the dioceses of the Moscow Patriarchate located on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany.

RESOLVED: 1) that the Berlin-Leipzig, Düsseldorf and Baden and Bavaria dioceses of the Moscow Patriarchate be amalgamated into one Berlin and Germany Diocese with the diocesan centre in Berlin;

2) that His Grace Bishop Feofan of Berlin and Leipzig be designated Bishop of Berlin and Germany;

3) that the Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Munich and the Church of the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God in Düsseldorf be stauropegion churches subordinate to the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia through the Department for External Church Relations;

4) that His Eminence Metropolitan Irinei of Vienna and Austria be released from the temporary administration of the Baden and Bavaria Diocese, remaining the rector of the stauropegion Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Munich;

5) that His Grace Archbishop Longin of Düsseldorf be released from the administration of the Düsseldorf Diocese and designated archbishop of Klin, vicar of the Moscow Diocese, rector of the stauropegion Church of the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God and that he be charged with the management of the affairs relating to contacts with ecclesiastical, governmental, public and business circles in Germany, the mass media in that country, as well as coordination of humanitarian aid and plans for economic cooperation.

CONSIDERED: the situation which has arisen as a result of the actions undertaken by the hierarchs of the Romanian Orthodox Church on December 19-20, 1992.

NOTE: Till the 19th century the highest church authority over the Orthodox communities on the territory of the present-day Republic of Moldova was exercised by the Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1808, i. e., after this land was liberated from the Turkish yoke by the Russian troops, these communities went over under the canonical jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church to be directly administered by the Exarch to Moldova, Walachia and Bessarabia. In 1813 the Holy Ruling Synod formed the Kishinev Diocese within the framework of the Russian Church. Thus, the Orthodox communities on this territory joined the Russian Church more than seven decades

prior to the emergence of the independent Romanian Church, which was granted autocephaly only in 1885.

From 1919 to 1940, when Bessarabia formed part of the Kingdom of Romania, the Kishinev Diocese was under the jurisdiction of the Romanian Patriarchate as a metropolitanate, and then again went over under the omophorion of the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. Right until 1992 this fact was never disputed by hierarchs of the Romanian Orthodox Church, who invariably maintained good relations with the Russian Orthodox Church, which is testified to by numerous exchanges of visits, meetings of the Primates of the two Churches and extensive correspondence between them. Complying with the request of Archbishop (now Metropolitan) Vladimir of Kishinev and Moldova, which reflected the wishes of the clergy and most of the Moldova worshippers, on October 5, 1992, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church passed a decision, proclaiming the independence of the Orthodox Church in Moldova in ecclesio-administrative, ecclesio-economic, ecclesio-educational and ecclesio-civil affairs. On December 15, 1992, a diocesan meeting was held in Kishinev, which was attended by archpastors, nearly 700 clergymen and laymen, representing the overwhelming majority of the church communities of Moldova. Almost unanimously, with one abstention and a few absentees, the meeting came out for the existing status of the Orthodox Church in Moldova within the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate.

On December 19, 1992, the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church announced the establishment, on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, of the Bessarabian Metropolitanate as part of the Romanian Patriarchate. On December 20, 1992, His Beatitude Patriarch Teoctist of Romania admitted to the liturgical communion Bishop Pyotr of Beltsy, prohibited from the service by the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, and several clerics of the Orthodox Church in Moldova. The diocesan meeting of the clergy, held in Kishinev on September 8, 1992, and attended by 705 clerics, demanded that Bishop Pyotr be immediately banned from continuing his service in holy orders for having deliberately ignored the ruling hierarch's instructions. By the Holy Synod decision of October 5, 1992, Bishop Pyotr was prohibited to continue his service, pending the consideration of his case for having deliberately refused to comply with the ruling hierarch's demand, thereby breaking the canonical discipline. Summons for such consideration by the Synod's sessions of October 20 and December 22-24, 1992, were ignored by Bishop Pyotr. In keeping with the Patriarchal and Synodal act of the Romanian Church of December 19,

Bishop Pyotr was charged with a temporary administration of the Bessarabian Metropolitanate with the right to attend sessions of the Synod of the Romanian Church until the metropolitan of Bessarabia has been elected from among the hierarchs of this Church. The document also says that the question of the re-establishment of the Bessarabian Metropolitanate was discussed by Patriarch Teoctist I of Romania and the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia during their meeting in Istanbul in March 1992.

RESOLVED: 1) that profound anxiety be expressed over the actions of the hierarchs of the Romanian Orthodox Church, which grossly violate the holy canons prohibiting the spread of a bishop's authority on the territory of another diocese and that of the Primate of a Church on the territory of another Church, as well as admission to liturgical community of persons prohibited to perform their service;

2) that the church and secular public be informed that no decisions on the status of the Orthodox communities in Moldova were taken during the meeting of Patriarchs Aleksy II and Teoctist I in Istanbul;

3) that confirmed be the position of the Russian Orthodox Church that the question of the juridical affiliation of the Orthodox Church in Moldova should be resolved by a canonically expressed free will of the arch-pastors, clergymen, the monastic community and laymen of this Church, whose voice should be paid heed to at the Local Council of the Moscow Patriarchate which is authorized to adopt the final decision on this issue in agreement with other Local Orthodox Churches;

4) that a message be sent to His Beatitude Patriarch Teoctist I of Romania from His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia, protesting against the anticanonical actions of the Romanian Patriarchate and pointing out that these actions are fraught with a new church split and severance of relations between the two Churches and can do irreparable damage to the unity of Orthodoxy. That the hierarchs of the Romanian Church be urged to remedy the committed violations as soon as possible and that it be emphasized that if this appeal does not meet with a due response, the Russian Orthodox Church reserves the right to appeal to the Ecumenical Orthodox Plenitude, demanding a pan-Orthodox judgement on this issue;

5) that Bishop Pyotr of Beltsy, who broke the holy canons of the Orthodox Church, which was expressed in conducting divine services while being under a ban, in his refusal to report to the Holy Synod session which was to consider his case, in the deliberate transition, without a special permit, under the jurisdiction of another Local Church, thereby causing a church schism, and who, in accordance with church canons, is to be defrocked, is to remain under the ban in the hope for his repentance; that the clerics, who together with Bishop Pyotr committed a noncanonical transition under ano-

ther jurisdiction and thereby deviated into schism, be banned to perform their ministry till they have completely repented;

6) that a Patriarchal message be addressed to His Eminence Metropolitan Vladimir of Kishinev and Moldova, clerics, the monastic community and the pious flock of the Orthodox Church in Moldova.

HEARD: the report by His Eminence Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Slutsk, Patriarchal Exarch to All Byelorussia, on the stay in the Federal Republic of Germany of a delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church, headed by him, on October 19-27, 1992, and on participation in theological conversations with representatives of the Evangelical Church in Germany, which were held in the Evangelical Church Centre Stift Urach (the town of Bad Urach, FRG) on the themes: "A Retrospective Review of the Theological Dialogues 'Arnoldshein' (1959-1990) and 'Zagorsk' (1974-1990)" and "The Church as a Community of Saints and Her Testification in the World".

RESOLVED: 1) that satisfaction be expressed with the holding of the theological conversations of representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Evangelical Church in Germany, held for the first time after the reunification of the two German states and the establishment of a unified structure of the Evangelical Church in Germany;

2) that noted be a special importance of the joint meeting held within the framework of the two dialogues—"Arnoldshein" and "Zagorsk"—which marked a new stage in cooperation between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Evangelical Church in Germany;

3) that the results of these conversations be approved and the hope for a successful continuation of the bilateral theological dialogue expressed;

4) that in accordance with the preliminary agreement reached at the conversations in Bad Urach concerning the formation of standing "minor theological groups," such a group be appointed from the Russian Orthodox Church and is to consist of:

Prof. Protopresbyter Vitaly Borovoi, Deputy Head of the DECR;

Prof. Aleksei Osipov of the Moscow Theological Academy;

Valery Chukalov, Head of the Protestant Section of the Department for External Church Relations;

5) that gratitude be expressed to the Evangelical Church in Germany and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Land of Württemberg for the hospitality and attention accorded to the delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church.

HEARD: the report by His Eminence Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Slutsk, the Patriarchal Exarch to All Byelorussia, on the session of the Synod of the Byelorussian Orthodox Church, Journal No. 20 of December 14, 1992.

RESOLVED: 1) that Journal No. 20 of the session of the Byelorussian Orthodox Church's Synod of December 14, 1992, be endorsed;

2) that blessing be given for the opening of the Epiphany Monastery on the Kutainka River in the town of Orsha, Vitebsk Diocese, for reviving monastic life in it.

CONSIDERED: the appointment of a new hierarchy to the Korsun Diocese.

RESOLVED: that Archimandrite Gury Shalimov, a cleric of the Resurrection Church in Zürich, Switzerland, be designated Bishop of Korsun, with his nomination and episcopal consecration to take place in Moscow.

HEARD: the draft of the Civil Statute of the Metochion of the Local Orthodox Church under the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, submitted by His Eminence Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, Chairman of the Holy Synod Commission on the Introduction of Amendments to the aforesaid Statute.

RESOLVED: that the Statute of the Metochion of the Local Orthodox Church under the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia be endorsed.

HEARD: requests by Archbishop Yevgeny of Tambov and Michurinsk and Bishop Aleksandr of Kostroma and Galich on the opening of the cloisters returned to the Church.

RESOLVED: 1) that blessing be given to the opening in the city of Tambov of the Monastery of the Kazan Icon of the Mother of God for reviving monastic life and to the opening of theological courses in it;

2) that blessing be given for the opening of the Ascension Convent;

3) that blessing be given for the opening of the Sypanovo St. Pakhomiy Convent of the Holy Trinity in the village of Troitsa, Nerekhta District, Kostroma Diocese;

4) that Sister Aleksia Remizova be approved as mother superior of the Sypanovo St. Pakhomiy Convent of the Holy Trinity in Nerekhta and a pectoral cross be bestowed on her.

HEARD: the draft Statute of the Latvian Orthodox Church, submitted by His Grace Bishop Aleksandr of Riga and Latvia.

NOTE: On December 3, 1992, a diocesan meeting of clergymen, representatives of the monastic community and laymen of the Riga and Latvia Diocese was held in Riga, whose participants voted (with one abstention) for the adoption of the Statute of the Orthodox Church in Latvia and unanimously declared their ardent and sincere desire to remain under the omophorion of His Holiness the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, under the canonical jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate.

RESOLVED: 1) that the draft of the Statute of the Orthodox Church in Latvia, compiled with due regard for the civil legislation of the sovereign Latvian state and the independence granted to the Orthodox Church in Latvia

by His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon of All Russia on July 6/19, 1921, No. 1026 and confirmed by the Holy Synod on August 11, 1992, be endorsed;

2) that the unanimous desire of the clergy, the monastic community and laymen of the Riga and Latvia Diocese to remain under the omophorion of His Holiness Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, under the canonical jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate, be welcomed;

3) that the Department for External Church Relations, the Economic and Finance Department, the Publishing Department, the Education Committee, the Department for Church Charity and Social Service, the Department for Religious Education and Catechization be charged with rendering assistance to the Orthodox Church in Latvia in implementing specified programmes of her life and activity.

HEARD: the report by His Beatitude Metropolitan Vladimir of Kiev and All the Ukraine on the results of the poll conducted among the bishops of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and on the discussion by the session of the Synod of the UOC on the former Bishop Ioann Bodnarchuk of Zhitomir and Ovruch.

RESOLVED: that His Beatitude Metropolitan Vladimir of Kiev and All the Ukraine be requested to make an additional study of this issue with the episcopate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, with the discussion held at the present Holy Synod session to be taken into account.

CONSIDERED: the issue of the Holy Synod's Pensions Committee, approved in 1948.

RESOLVED: that in connection with the adoption of the civil law, providing for a pension scheme equal for all citizens, including clergymen and other servers in the Church, the Holy Synod's Pensions Committee be abolished.

HEARD: the communication by His Eminence Metropolitan Yuvenaly of Krutitsy and Kolomna about his visit, in the company of His Eminence Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, Head of the Department for External Church Relations, and A. Buyevsky, Executive Secretary of the Department for External Church Relations, to the city of Riga on November 11-12, 1992, in accordance with the Holy Synod decision of October 20, 1992, for the purpose of conducting negotiations with the government of the Latvian Republic, connected with the process of the establishment of the legal status of the Riga and Latvia dioceses.

RESOLVED: that satisfaction be expressed with the successful conclusion of the talks between the delegation of the Moscow Patriarchate and state officials of the Latvian Republic, headed by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic Anatoly Gorbunov, in the course of which the leadership of the republic expressed

their agreement with the due formulation of the legal status of the Orthodox Church in Latvia.

HEARD: the communication by His Grace Bishop Aleksandr of Kostroma and Galich, Chairman of the All-Church Orthodox Youth Movement of the Moscow Patriarchate, on the establishment of the Youth Orthodox Scout Organization of the Russian Orthodox Church.

RESOLVED: 1) that blessing be given to the establishment of the Youth Orthodox Scout Organization of the Russian Orthodox Church;

2) that His Grace Bishop Aleksandr of Kostroma and Galich, Chairman of the All-Church Orthodox Youth Movement of the Moscow Patriarchate be charged with drafting the Rules of the Youth Orthodox Scout Organization, taking into consideration the need for expanding work with juveniles and young people at a parish, diocesan and all-Church level.

HEARD: the report by His Eminence Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, Head of the Department for External Church Relations, on the continuing tragic events in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the Joint Statement of the leadership of the World Council of Churches, which met in session in Geneva on December 7-9, 1992, and the provisional Executive Committee of the Conference of European Churches, which held a meeting in Geneva on December 11-12, 1992, on the military conflict on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

INFORMATION: Religious leaders of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina called for organizing a common prayer on December 23, 1992, for ending the bloodshed. The Joint Statement of the WCC and the CEC supported this appeal.

RESOLVED: 1) that, offering up prayers on December 23 to our Lord Jesus Christ for ending the bloodshed and establishing peace on the territory of former Yugoslavia, the Holy Synod call upon the archpastors, clerics and the flock of the Russian Orthodox Church to join this prayer so that peace and justice might triumph among the fraternal Slav peoples tormented by war;

2) that the peace-keeping efforts of religious leaders of Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, aimed at putting an end to the war confrontation, be given support;

3) that gratitude be expressed to the World Council of Churches and the Conference of European Churches for their assistance in organizing the dialogue and for supporting leaders of Christian and Moslem communities on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

HEARD: the communication by Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia on his visit to the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church between August 31 and September 7, 1992.

RESOLVED: 1) that the communication be acknowledged;

2) that satisfaction be expressed with the official visit paid by Patriarch Aleksy II to His Beatitude Metropolitan Dorothej of Prague and All Czecho-Slovakia, which was keynoted by the atmosphere of fraternal love and cordiality, and with the liturgical communion that took place during this visit;

3) that hope be expressed that this visit by the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church will promote the development and consolidation of contacts between the two Churches;

4) that noted be the importance of the meetings and talks held during this visit between Patriarch Aleksy and high-ranking representatives of ecclesiastical and public circles in Czecho-Slovakia;

5) that His Beatitude Metropolitan Dorothej of Prague and All Czecho-Slovakia be thanked cordially for the attention and hospitality accorded to the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church and the officials, who accompanied him, during their stay as guests of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church.

HEARD: the report by His Eminence Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, Head of the Department for External Church Relations, on the parish of the Moscow Patriarchate in Zurich, Switzerland.

RESOLVED: that in connection with the election of Archimandrite Gury Shalimov, a cleric of the parish of the Moscow Patriarchate in Zurich, as Bishop of Korsun, Father Sergy Trukhachev, staff member of the Department for External Church Relations, be sent to fulfil his pastoral ministry in Zurich.

HEARD: the report by His Eminence Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, Head of the Department for External Church Relations, on entering Bishop Adalbert of Prague, the first Christian missionary in Eastern Prussia (now the territory of the Kaliningrad Diocese) in the church calendar of the Russian Orthodox Church.

NOTE: St. Adalbert, secular name Voytech, born in Bohemia, was Bishop of Prague. In 977, together with his two companions, he landed on the shore of a gulf in Eastern Prussia. One of his companions was St. Bruno, who is also known as Bishop Boniface, an eye-witness to St. Adalbert's ascetic feats and the author of his first *Life*. St. Adalbert was the first Christian missionary preacher who enlightened pagan Prussians with the Holy Gospel. St. Adalbert died in the same year 977: he was brutally murdered by Prussians when he entered the oak grove venerated by pagans as the holy of holies. The exact place of the saintly man's death is unknown. With a great degree of likelihood, he was murdered on the shore of the gulf, in the area of the town of Svetlyi, to all probability near the town of Baltiisk or the city of Kaliningrad. He was first glorified as a saint practically immediately after his demise. His first *Life* was written by St. Bruno circa 1004, and was

published in Latin in Rome. Thus, St. Adalbert began to be glorified as a saint more than 50 years before the official division of the Churches (1054).

RESOLVED: that the question of entering the name of Bishop Adalbert of Prague in the church calendar of the Russian Orthodox Church be transferred to the Holy Synod Commission on Canonization of Saints.

CONSIDERED: the appeal by former Bishop Ionafan Yeletskikh of Pereyaslav-Khmel'nitsky, Vicar of the Kiev Diocese.

After a thorough study of the material on the issue in question.

RESOLVED: 1) that agreement be expressed with the decision of the Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of August 25, 1992, Journal No. 8, stating that the defrocking of Bishop Ionafan Yeletskikh is canonically unfounded and therefore invalid;

2) that Bishop Ionafan Yeletskikh be placed at the disposal of the Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

CONSIDERED: the summoning of hierarchs for the 1993 winter session of the Holy Synod.

RESOLVED: that the following hierarchs be summoned for the 1993 winter session of the Holy Synod: Archbishop Kliment of Kaluga and Borovsk, Archbishop Aleksey of Alma-Ata and Semipalatinsk, Bishop Paisy of Orel and Bryansk, Bishop Anastasy of Kazan and Mari, Bishop Vadim of Irkutsk and Chita, Bishop Manuil of Petrozavodsk and Olonets.

*Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia
ALEKSY II,
Members of the Holy Synod*

From the Speech Delivered by His Holiness Patriarch ALEKSY II of Moscow and All Russia in the Moscow City Soviet Before the Signing of the Agreement on Joint Utilization of the Kremlin Cathedrals

This is a momentous day, marking a year since the signing by the President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin of the Ukase enabling the Russian Orthodox Church to conduct divine services in the churches of the Moscow Kremlin.

It has taken a year to draft the agreement we are going to sign today. In this agreement we specify the responsibility and the framework within which divine services will be conducted and excursions arranged at these outstanding monuments of our national history. For us, the Moscow Kremlin and the Cathedral of the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God are shrines in which our ancestors prayed and Moscow Primates conducted divine services. These churches witnessed the history of our Russian state in the making. That is why it is with a special veneration and awe that we conduct every divine service in the main cathedral of the Russian Orthodox Church—the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin. In our mind's eye pass the leaders of the Russian state and the Russian Orthodox Church who prayed in these shrines.

In recent years we have been working in close cooperation with the Ministry of Culture and museums. Together with them we have been returning to our history, looking back at the historical path traversed by our people, without dividing themselves into church and non-church people. We must study our own history, come to churches and attend divine services and admire everything created by the hands of our artists and architects.

I hope there will always be mutual understanding between us. Our cooperation should be keynoted by mutual respect and goodwill. Only then will we cope with all problems connected with the preservation of these unique historical monuments, and local worshippers and visitors to the capital city of Moscow will have an opportunity to pray before the shrines of the Land of Russia, draw spiritual strength to overcome all difficulties and to build a new Russia.

Agreement Between the Church and the State

On November 15, 1992, following a Divine Liturgy celebrated by the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, an agreement was signed in the White Hall of the Moscow Soviet between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, regulating utilization of the churches of the Moscow Kremlin and the Cathedral Church of the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God (St. Basil's Cathedral) in Red Square, Moscow. The document was signed by His Holiness Patriarch Aleksey II and the Minister of Culture Ye. Sidorov. Present at the ceremony were also Sergei Stankevich, Counsellor of the President of Russia, Archbishop Sergy of Solnechnogorsk, Bishops Arseny of Istra, Filaret of Dmitrov, Iona of Astrakhan and Yenotayevka, and other officials.

This long-term agreement between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation is in keeping with the provisions of the Ukase of the President of Russia of November 18, 1991. The agreement states that the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation and, on its instructions, the State Historico-Cultural Preserve-Museum "The Moscow Kremlin" and "The State Museum of History" Association are handing over to the Moscow Patriarchate, for a permanent free use, the Cathedral Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, the Cathedral Church of the Annunciation to the Most Holy Theotokos, the Cathedral Church of St. Michael the Archangel, the Church of the Twelve Apostles, the Church of St. John Climacus with the Belfry of Ivan the Great, the Church of the Deposition of the Lord's Robe, which are located on the territory of the Kremlin, as well as the Church of the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God (St. Basil's Cathedral) in Red Square. The churches will be used with all their movable historical monuments and utensils.

State institutions undertake to fund, from the state budget, current maintenance, repair and restoration work in the aforesaid churches as well as of the museum values and equipment they contain. They exercise

state control over the safety of the churches and museum values. On her part, the Church will cover part of the expenditure in payment for the labour of some categories of museum workers.

The churches (with the exception of their sanctuary parts) will also be used for excursions to be arranged in accordance with a special schedule agreed upon with the Moscow Patriarchate, taking into account the Orthodox church calendar. The churches cannot be used for entertainment, socio-political and other non-church purposes. Concerts and other shows and undertakings may be arranged on the territories adjoining the Kremlin churches and the Church of the Protecting Veil in keeping with the Ukase of the President of Russia of July 29, 1992, and with the consent of the Moscow Patriarchate. The latter is responsible for the safety of the church buildings and the museum values they contain. The maximum number of visitors to the Kremlin churches—worshippers attending divine services and excursionists outside divine services—will be determined by mutual agreement. The Moscow Patriarchate will also be able to provide its own excursion guides for pilgrims and guests of the Church.

All canonical services and offices will be conducted in the churches, and all liturgical ceremonies provided for in the Church Rules, will be performed on the territories adjoining churches. During divine services chiming will come from the Belfry of Ivan the Great and the Cathedral Church of the Protecting Veil. Admission to the Kremlin will be free for visitors invited by the Church to attend divine services in the churches of the Moscow Kremlin.

The document signed also contains a number of provisions stipulating terms for the churches' maintenance.

A trusteeship council, headed by co-chairmen representing the parties to the agreement, will be formed. The sides declare that in the process of the agreement's implementation the interests of each side will be recognized and respected, and the problems that may arise will be settled in the spirit of mutual agreement and goodwill.

Constantinople Shuns Schismatics

As has been reported by Metropolitan Meliton of Philadelphia, General Secretary of the Synod of the Constantinople Patriarchate, on December 7, 1992, Istanbul was visited by Antony Masendich, who calls himself metropolitan of the so-called Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Kiev Patriarchate), and a person accompanying him.

The purpose of their visit was to submit an application to His Holiness Patriarch Bartholomaios I of Constantinople with an invitation to attend the council of the

Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Kiev Patriarchate), which is being prepared by former Metropolitan Filaret Denisenko. The Kiev visitors also asked for Holy Myrrh.

Metropolitan Meliton reported that the visitors had not been received by the Patriarch and had not been given what they asked for.

Metropolitan Meliton stated that the Constantinople Patriarchate retained its canonical position of nonrecognition of the schism initiated by the UAOC-KP.

Denial

Recently the mass media have disseminated information about some secret "LA" service allegedly existing under the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, which over decades has been keeping secret surveillance over the activity and private life of hierarchs and clerics and revealing agents of special state services in their midst. In spite of the obvious absurdity of this misinformation, some people, who are not familiar with the reality of church life, are asking for explanations on this score.

In this connection, the Communications Bureau of the Department for External

Church Relations is authorized to state that existence of any secret structures in the Church of Christ contradicts her nature and mission in the world. Mutual shadowing, craving to discover human vices are unacceptable and sinful for Christians who are called upon to be models of openness, brotherly love and mutual trust.

The Church cannot bless and has never blessed the creation of structures for a secret surveillance over brothers in faith. Allegations to the effect that the supreme Church authority has established such structures are lies. They are not, neither can they be, based on real facts.

Everyone Is Personally Responsible to the Lord...

The Millennium of the Baptism of Rus widely celebrated by the Orthodox world was for the faithful not only a series of festivities. It was carrying a good news: a warm spell in the relations between the Soviet state and the Church was coming. Much water has flowed under the bridges since then. The Soviet Union is no more. The state ideological machine has been broken. The law on the freedom of conscience and religion has removed the last Communist "blindness", secured the real liberty for everyone to choose his own God and faith. Churches and monasteries all over the country are being handed over to the faithful. Today people seeking moral support, consolation, purification and understanding turn their eyes on the Church. The Church today is one of the equally authoritative institutions in the Russian state.

On the eve of the second anniversary of his enthronization His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia answered the questions of Mikhail Semenyuk, correspondent of the *Yevropeisky Kurier* (European Courier).

Your Holiness, in the years of the Communist regime an idea has been thrust on our people that the Church is somehow in opposition to the state. Is it true or is it one of the myths of the Soviet atheistic propaganda?

In today's reality there exist two contrary opinions on the Church-state relations. One may be reduced to an attempt to merge the roles of the state and the Church in a kind of a synthesized, monolithic block. Adherents of the other opinion, knowing or feeling that the Church and the state are different notions, come to the conclusion of the inevitability of a conflict, and, thus, almost enmity, between them. But one should know from the New Testament that the Church is Christ's body (Eph. 1.23). Her mission differs from the functions of the state. The Church is set up by the Lord to bring man to life eternal. This is her main service, the rest of her earthly existence is subject to it and not

to certain interests of time and place which the state is to serve in accordance with a temporary mandate received from its citizens. The Church must and, by Divine Grace, does carry out her salvific mission in any society, even in one which in a certain historical period in the main opposes the Church. But the Church is not hostile to anybody—either to sinners or even to persecutors. Members of the Church remember that for a citizen any authority is from God and, being citizens, accept it as such. And if the authority is theomachist, sent down by God as a trial, the Church does not treat it with hostility, but contraposes to it the witness of the peaceableness of her teaching, her love, her loyalty to the preaching of the Gospel—the good news of the ways of salvation.

One of the first declarations of the Soviet government was the declaration on the separation of the Church from the state. "The religion is opium for the people" was a basic formula of the atheistic doctrine. However, many Orthodox thinkers believed and still believe that the Soviet state has always been the only confessional state in the world with the militant atheism of the Communist sect being the ruling religion. Do you share this view, or maybe today this period of the history of Russia can be regarded differently?

One could not help seeing strong elements of pseudo-religious worship in the former state system. And this worship had so many fanatic priests that the system could hardly be called a secular one. The practice of Marxism in the Soviet Union as well by its ideological clients was not only turning into a pseudo-religion but was also contradicting the essence of the teaching of dialectical materialism. And that led to an absurd.

The leaders of the totalitarian state wanted to rule over all spheres of human life—over minds, over souls, over religious feelings. An attempt was made to direct the religiosity of our people acquired from time immemorial to the establishment of

the Communist doctrine, to the sacralization of the authority. This is the greatest spiritual crime.

Is the former concordance between the Church and the state possible today? The concordance when the state recognizes the church law as its internal guiding principle and the Church considers it its duty to obey the state? Is it possible or not?

Let us recur to the first question of this interview. In my answer to it I tried to show that the mission of the Church and functions of the state are different, and therefore they cannot contradict one another. They play different roles in the lives of people: a person cannot live without the Church, neither can he live without instruments of public organization of his everyday life, one of which now is the state. That is why the Russian Orthodox Church does not seek to become the state Church. In the Russian history she has already been in such a position once, which did not in any way add to her spiritual influence, but raised a lot of problems and questions. Today the state declares its secularity, and the Church does not intend to call in question the practical expediency of the ideology of neutrality of the state under today's historical conditions. But the principle of the division between the Church and the state ("separation of the Church from the state" is a one-sided authoritative formula which has taken root in the modern Russian language) should be observed in reality. And such a division when the Church fulfils her mission and the state—its functions, implies cooperation between the Church and state institutions, which is possible and necessary in spheres, where the diversities of life require it. However, such cooperation is possible only if full mutual freedom of these institutions is provided for. And it obviously implies mutual respect.

Your Holiness, can you, following from your experience of communion with the Orthodox flock, confirm the thought that the idea of a "kind tsar" is still alive in our people? And can it be somehow connected with the idea now triumphing in Russia of a nationally-elected President? Is this idea consonant with the historical traditions of the Orthodox Church?

Indeed, the people would like to see in its leaders the ideals of kindness and justice, intellect and wisdom. Unfortunately, the people has often been mistaken... It is necessary to stop setting ones hopes

upon a "kind barin" (master—*Tr.*) and more attentively read the words of Psalm 146: *Do not put your trust in princes, nor in a son of man, in whom there is no help.* One should remember, that one is himself responsible before God, before society, before one's neighbour and before himself. If such a sense of personal responsibility takes root in our hearts, then the President, and the government, and the people will be able to adequately fulfil the duty of the service for the benefit of man. When the President and the people feel a well-deserved respect towards each other, it means that society is morally healthy. But if there is a cult of a state leader, sometimes a kind of worship, it means that the spirit of Christ is not strong enough in us.

The Russian revolution, today usually called a "coup d'état", ruined the Orthodox tsardom and with an "iron wall" separated the Church from the state. Is it possible today, taking into consideration the changes that have taken place in public opinion, to restore the broken historical tradition?

The Orthodox tradition was not broken even in the years of persecutions. And it is not broken today. But one should realize that the Orthodoxy of the members of Christ's Church is not to be brought to certain historical, cultural or public models, that it is not a complex of everyday and liturgical rules, not a way of thinking even. Tradition is a living breath of the Holy Ghost, being perceived differently by people starting from the first centuries of Christianity and differently perceived in everyday life in different epochs by different nations. The tradition should be not only preserved but also continued. It is impossible to copy the way of life of the former centuries. The real values of a tradition lie deep in the consciousness of the people and are revealed in due time in unpredicted and often in unexpected forms. The main thing is to adopt Christ with one's whole heart and live in accordance with His Commandments in a society, in which we are predestined to live by the will of God.

Is it possible to speak today about the rebirth of the Christian "economics", i. e., the traits of an economically-minded person traditional for Russia?

Russian entrepreneurs and merchants are only beginning to recollect their traditions. I am sure that their future does not depend on the amount of money saved up, but on how long it will take

us to introduce morality in economic relations. If we concentrate on making capital by all possible means without thinking of the morality of these means or of moral consequences for society, then the national economy will destroy itself for unjustly gained wealth never benefits the people. The recent Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church addressing entrepreneurs stressed: "You should keep in mind that the path you have taken requires a solid moral foundation, the lack of which can lead to the sin of covetousness. Do not forget about charity in order to receive God's blessing for your labours".

Being separated from the state the Church nevertheless influenced it through the power it had over the people, over its soul. How great was the danger for the Church herself of getting under the influence of different political parties and movements? And can we say that this danger is no more?

Of course in the recent past the Church was under the severe pressure of the Communist party, which tried to control all spheres of people's life. Today there are parties and political movements, wishing to turn the Church into their ally, trying to persuade Orthodox Christians to support this or that political programme. But the Church does not regulate political views

of her members and does not order her flock to support this or that party. Everyone is free to have his own point of view on social processes and express it wherever he wants and in a way he prefers. The main thing for the Church is the salvation of the human soul, its communion with God. A political activity which does not contradict the Gospel's morality is a person's private business.

Father Sergy Bulgakov wrote that the Russian Church "would have to make all Christian world Orthodox in future, so that all confessions would inflow the one river of Ecumenical Orthodoxy". What are the chances of the Russian Orthodox Church fulfilling this mission today?

The way to Orthodoxy lies through its true witnessing. It is possible to come to it by means of a brotherly dialogue, by means of knowledge, by means of eliminating all misunderstandings and contradictions, especially those called forth by nontheological factors (historical, cultural, political, etc.). It is necessary to remove layers of prejudice obscuring the purity of the teaching of Christ so that Christians of the world, without rejecting their peculiar historical, national, cultural and theological traditions could glorify the Lord by "one mouth and one heart" in the spiritual triumph of Ecumenical Orthodoxy.

The Luminary of the Land of Russia

A city that is set on a hill cannot be hidden (Mt. 5.14)

Numerous research works, it may seem, have described in detail St. Sergy's versatile activity. To my mind, however, the estimation of this activity is often one-sided. Secular authors usually pay their attention first and foremost to St. Sergy's patriotic service, stressing the fact, for example, that it was he who blessed Orthodox Grand Prince Dimitry of Moscow for the Kulikovo Battle, in which Rus, having defeated the Horde, upheld its independence. Ecclesiastical authors give primary attention to the *Lives* of the saint, to his contribution to the renewal of monastic life and similar matters. At that, it is usually assumed that the feat of St. Sergy is important mainly for Russia

and for the Russian Orthodox Church. However, the world-wide veneration of the saint is an evidence of the universal significance of his feat which, to my mind, has not yet been fully revealed. What is this significance?

To answer this question one should recollect the situation in which the Christian world of the 14th century found itself.

Christianity is known to have been born in Palestine and soon spread all over the Roman Empire, but in the first three centuries it was subjected to severe persecutions on the part of the authorities and the pagan religion. It was first recognized and then declared to be a state

religion in the 4th century under Emperor Constantine. After the division of the Roman Empire into the Western and the Eastern ones, the Eastern or the Byzantine Empire became the stronghold of Christianity, where it received the most solid theological foundation in the works of the Holy Fathers of the Church, particularly three "great ecumenical teachers and bishops—St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory the Theologian and St. John Chrysostom" whom until now all the Orthodox world remember in daily prayers. Gradually, growing disagreement between Rome and Constantinople led by the middle of the 11th century to the split of the One Christian Church into the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.

Unfortunately, the Western (Roman Catholic) Church did not withstand the third temptation with which the devil had tempted Jesus Christ in the wilderness—the temptation of the rule over the world. The Bishop of Rome, the Pope, had not only become the Primate of the Church but also a secular king of the state of Vatican, which later put in a claim for world supremacy, unleashed war with emperors and kings, for centuries attempted to bend to its will Orthodox states by persuasion or force. From the Orthodox point of view the purity of the teaching of Christ was preserved in Orthodoxy alone. And Byzantium became the keeper of Orthodoxy, the greatest spiritual treasure, for the sake of which, as we, the Orthodox, believe, God had created the world. It was from Byzantium that Rus accepted the Orthodox faith in the 10th century.

However, in the 14th century the position of the Orthodox Church became suddenly very complicated. A new ideological trend—humanism, was formed in Italy. It placed man, not God, in the centre of the universe and this new understanding of the world and of life, more and more yielding to atheism, was spreading all over Western Europe. Its adherents tried to inculcate their ideas in Byzantium but met with a decisive opposition on the part of the so-called hesychasts (from the Greek "hesychos" meaning "quiet"), monks, who had worked out an ascetical system, making it possible to reach communion with God—the highest purpose of the life of a Christian.

Hesychasts managed to solve the most difficult philosophical and theological problem—to prove theoretically and practically a possibility for man to come to the

knowledge of God. Since God is Spirit, He is eternal and unchanged, while man is flesh, he is mortal and hesitant. That is why man is unable to know God in principle. But if it were impossible to know God, it was impossible to commune with Him and this would be equal to the recognition of the unfeasibility of Christianity. Great theologian St. Gregory Palamas, following the teaching of the Holy Fathers of the Church and outstanding Christian ascetics (especially of St. Makary the Great, St. John Climacus, St. Simeon the New Theologian), worked out a theory of grace-giving energies coming from God which can be perceived by men, able to clear their souls by means of an ascetic feat.

Thus, one may come to the true knowledge of God, unfathomable essentially, through the grace sent by Him, but only to those who made the receiving of the grace the aim of their lives, as God said: *the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by force* (Mt. 11.12).

God wishes salvation for every one and sends His grace to every one, but only the one who prepares his soul by way of tireless spiritual toil perceives it. After a long and stubborn struggle hesychasm, as a generalization of the experience of great Christian zealots of piety, was recognized by the Orthodox Church in Byzantium from where it was brought to Rus. Though Rus was still under the Tatar yoke, the new teaching was not only adopted here but also considerably enriched by Russian hesychasts—distinguished thinkers, writers, icon-painters, monks brought together by St. Sergy of Radonezh.

Sergy (secular name—Varfolomei), a boyar's son (his parents Kirill and Maria have been recently canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church), seemed to be chosen by God before he was born to bear the witness of the Holy Trinity to the world. He dreamed of a monastic feat since childhood, and when he together with his elder brother Stefan left home, settled in a deep forest near the town of Radonezh and built a wooden church there, he consecrated it in the name of the Holy Trinity (the monastery founded by him turned into the well-known Trinity-St. Sergy Lavra). Stefan could not endure the hardships of a hermit's life and soon left for a Moscow monastery and Sergy stayed alone performing an everyday feat of labour and prayer in the forest full

of wild animals. Gradually there came other monks and against his will he was chosen as hegumen of the new monastery. Having revived the best traditions of Russian monasticism, founded by St. Feodosy of Pechery, Sergy led his brethren by force of his personal example, being the first in work and in prayer. Unlike other Russian saints before him, who according to their *Lives* had led spiritual struggle against the dark forces of the nether world, against the devils, Sergy was honoured with an apparition of the Holy Mother of God (in the presence of witnesses) and with a celebration of Angels during Liturgy. Without aspiring to it, he set an example of sanctity so evident for the people surrounding him that already in his life-time he was revered as a saint and miracle worker and became the greatest spiritual authority of his epoch. From all over Russia people came to him for advice and he was accessible both to a prince and a commoner. He had to manage the monastery, give advice to common people, compose differences between princes. But I would like to single out one of his activities to which the attention seems to have been drawn for the first time by priest and scientist Father Pavel Florensky in his article "The Trinity-St. Sergy Lavra and Russia", published in the book *Troitse-Sergieva Lavra* (The Trinity-St. Sergy Lavra) in 1929. The second edition was published in the *Rossiysky Yezhegodnik* (Russian Year-Book) in 1989.

Russian people traditionally have been Orthodox Christians. And the Orthodox believe not only in Christ God-Man but also in the One God in Three Hypostases, in the Holy Trinity, the One and Undivided. Being a great erudit, Father Pavel Florensky evidently knew that in Byzantium Holy Fathers of the Church and theologians had conceived God as the Trinity, and that had been reflected in the Creed, worked out there. But he reminded the reader of the fact that both in Byzantium and in Russia before Sergy there was neither a feast of the Holy Trinity, nor Trinity icons, which means that there was no veneration of the Trinity, i. e., the divine service did not yet fully reflect the Essence of God, Whom Christians worshipped. There was the Feast of the Pentecost which was celebrated to commemorate the Descent of the Holy Spirit unto the Apostles, but it was a celebration of a historical and not an openly ontological character. It was at the

Trinity Monastery that Hegumen Sergy had established the Feast of the Trinity and introduced the necessary changes into the order of the liturgy, and Father Pavel Florensky had all grounds to state in the above-mentioned article that "... the greatest liturgical shift, in which the Russian idea and peculiar traits of the Russian spirit were expressed, are connected with the name of St. Sergy. I mean the Trinity Day as a liturgical day, a liturgical creation of the Russian culture and definitely the creation of St. Sergy". From the point of view of a believer it is impossible to overestimate the world-view aspect of this liturgical shift. The true knowledge of God and the right way of glorifying Him (hence the Russian for "Orthodox"—pravoslavie, meaning "the right way of glorifying") is a pledge for the true understanding of the world and life on the whole.

In our time, when the majority of the population both in Russia and practically in the whole world does not confess any religion at all, history is usually understood as a result of the activity of people, while for a faithful there is Divine Providence in it acting, however, through the activity of persons, possessing the freedom of choice between the good and the evil. If God created the world and established the laws of its development and people are trying to live on this planet according to their own understanding without considering the will of God, their efforts will doubtlessly be futile and fruits—quite opposite to those expected.

A Polish scientist and science-fiction writer Stanislaw Lem thinks that the main limit to the cognitive and creative abilities of human mind is "incapability to model phenomena (and solve problems) multifactor in their nature", and any more or less complicated problem is a multifactor problem. This incapability of men to adequately conceive the world is a natural result of the original sin, which ruined the God-likeness of man and "split" his nature, having separated the mind from the heart and the will. A fallen man, and especially the one who has consciously turned away from God, will inevitably lead the world to a catastrophe. That is why a great Russian thinker I. Kireyevsky believed the pledge of the truthfulness of this or that philosophical system to be the true knowledge of the Holy Trinity, "for a man is his faith". And it is the true

knowledge of the Holy Trinity that St. Sergy of Radonezh gave to Russia and the whole world. His feat helped the Russian thought rise to the heights of the world outlook never reached by our Byzantine teachers, attained neither before, nor after St. Sergy, neither in the West, nor in the East.

Another researcher of Russian hesychasm A. Klivanov wrote that the Feast of the Holy Trinity had two founders: St. Sergy and the Russian people. From olden times Rus had been celebrating the seventh Sunday after Easter as the day of the renewal of the life of nature and man. The feast of the rise to the heights of the theological thought and the feast incarnating the optimistic spirit of the Russian people (which was only beginning to form out of the one Eastern-Slavonic ethnoses) joined in the veneration of the Holy Trinity. It was vitally important for Rus, collecting forces to fight for the liberation from the yoke of the non-Christian Golden Horde. St. Sergy created the cult of the Trinity to fight hatred and discord in the world. The Holy Trinity became the basis for uniting all people for the sake of a great, unegoistic deed. The Holy Trinity repudiates discord and blesses love, rejects slavery and glorifies freedom. St. Sergy's vision of the Holy Trinity was perfectly incarnated in the "Trinity", patronal icon of the Trinity Cathedral painted by St. Andrei Rublev. And the Feast of the Holy Trinity, originally a local feast of the patronal icon, soon became a great day both for Rus and the whole Orthodox world.

Having passed on its spiritual experience of Orthodoxy to Rus, Byzantium soon came to a decline (some 60 years after the blessed demise of St. Sergy it was conquered by Ottomans). The Catholic Rome hated Orthodoxy. The Balkan Orthodox countries found themselves under the yoke of the Ottoman Empire. Turks, evidently, did not need Orthodoxy. A vivid testimony of the way the Moslem conquerors treated cultural values of the invaded countries is an order given by an Arab commander to burn down the famous library of Alexandria with its priceless collections of ancient manuscripts: "If they read the same as the Koran does, they are superfluous, if not—they are harmful." So the only country that could preserve the Orthodox faith, develop the Orthodox teaching and return Orthodoxy back to mankind, when needed most, appeared

to be the Muscovite Rus which was under the foreign yoke then.

When Orthodox Grand Prince Dimitry of Moscow came to St. Sergy for a blessing to fight the Horde's troops, the saint asked him not to war with Khan Mamai, but to pay him a tribute. And only having made sure that Mamai's aim was to ravage Moscow and eradicate Orthodoxy St. Sergy blessed the Grand Prince for the battle and predicted his victory. On the day of the battle, September 8 (September 21, New Style) 1380, the Feast of the Nativity of the Most Holy Mother of God, the saint prayed for those killed in the battle, the course of which he could see from hundreds of versts away. From the mystic point of view the victory of Rus was inevitable for otherwise Orthodoxy would disappear from the face of the earth and this would be equal to the unfulfilment of the will of God concerning the world. Rus gained victory, upheld its independence and, in spite of the rule of godlessness in the Soviet period, has preserved Orthodoxy, which today, in the period of ecological and other global crises, may turn out to be the last chance to save mankind. The world, though not realizing it clearly yet, feels it.

Father Pavel Florensky reminded us also of another deed of St. Sergy, who on the advice of the Patriarch of Constantinople set a new rule in his cloister, according to which monks had nothing of their own and shared common grief and joy. Father Pavel Florensky stressed that the idea of a communal life in love, likemindedness and economical unity, "always so dear to the Russian soul and shining in it as the most longed-for commandment of life, was incarnated by St. Sergy at the Trinity-St. Sergy Lavra and spread on from there, an abode of the Trinity, as from a centre of territorial, economic, educational, and, finally, moral colonization". And a great merit of St. Sergy, who opened the spiritual eyes of the Russian people on the Holy Trinity, is that the Russian people has preserved its unindividualistic, *sobornny* character. This contribution of Rus and its greatest saint, so important in our time of resistance to the superegoistic "new world order", is yet to be fully estimated by mankind and then the veneration of St. Sergy will be universal.

Mikhail ANTONOV
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On Orthodoxy and Catholicism

The importance of Orthodoxy in Russian history and culture is spiritually decisive. In order to realize it one does not need to be an Orthodox himself; it is sufficient to know Russian history and to have spiritual insight: it is sufficient to admit that a thousand-year-old Russian history was made by people of Christian belief, that it was in Christianity that Russia was shaped, fostered and developed its spiritual culture, and that it adopted, confessed, contemplated and implemented Christianity in the act of Orthodoxy. This was precisely what Pushkin's genius comprehended and articulated. Here are his own words:

"Christianity is a spiritual and political revolution of our planet. The world has disappeared to be renewed in this sacred element." "The Greek faith, distinct from all others, gives us a special national character." "Russia has never had anything in common with the rest of Europe..."; and "its history requires a different thought, a different formula..."

And now when our generations are going through a great public, economical, moral, spiritual and creative gap in the history of Russia and when we see everywhere her enemies, both religious and political, who are preparing a crusade against her identity in general, we should clearly and firmly ask ourselves: Do we cherish our Russian identity? Are we ready to stand for it?, and more: What is this identity? What are its foundations and what are the attacks against it that we should foresee?

The identity of the Russian people is expressed in their special and original spiritual act, "act" here meaning the internal organization of man; his way of feeling, thinking, desiring and acting. Any Russian, having found himself abroad, had and even now has an ample opportunity to see from his experience that other nations have a different organization of their everyday and spiritual life; we can see it at every step and find it difficult to get accustomed to; sometimes we see their superiority, sometimes we can feel acutely their perplexity but always experience their otherness and begin to languish for the "Motherland". It can be accounted for by the originality

of our everyday and spiritual life, or, to explain it shortly, our act is different.

The Russian national act developed under the influence of the following four important factors: nature (continental character, plain, climate, soil), Slavic soul, special faith and historical development (statehood, wars, territorial size, multinational character, economy, education, technology, culture). It is impossible to cover it all at once. There are books about it, sometimes precious (Gogol, "What Is Essentially the Russian Poetry?"; N. Danilevsky, "Russia and Europe"; I. Zabelin, "A History of Russian Life"; Dostoyevsky, "The Diary of an Author"; V. Klyuchevsky, "Esseys and Speeches"), sometimes still-born (Chaadayev, "Philosophical Letters"; Milyukov, "Esseys on the History of Russian Culture"). In interpreting these factors and the Russian creative act itself, it is important to remain concrete and fair, without turning into either a fanatical "Slavophile" or a blind "Westernizer". It is especially important in treating our principal subject—Orthodoxy and Catholicism.

Among the enemies of Russia who reject its whole culture and condemn its whole history, a special place is occupied by Roman Catholics. They proceed from the assumption that there are "goodness" and "truth" in the world only where the Roman Catholic Church is the "leader" and where people recognize unconditionally the authority of the Bishop of Rome. All the rest, in their understanding, have taken a wrong path, walking in darkness and heresy, and sooner or later should be converted to their own faith. This comprises not only "the guideline" of Catholicism, but also the go-without-saying foundation or prerequisite of all their doctrines, books, assessments, organizations, decisions and actions. All that is non-Catholic in the world should perish, either as a result of propaganda and conversion or by God's destruction.

How many times in recent years the Catholic prelates began to explain to me personally that "the Lord sweeps the Orthodox East with an iron broom so that the one Catholic Church could prevail"... How many times I shuddered at the frantic zeal with which their eyes and talks sparkled. Listening to those talks, I began

to realize how the prelate Michel d'Er-bigny, who was in charge of Eastern Catholic propaganda, could come to Moscow on his two trips in 1926 and 1928 to negotiate a union with the Obnov-lentsy Church and, correspondingly, a "concordat" with the Bolsheviks and how he, upon his arrival back home, could re-print without any reservations Com-munists' articles naming the suffering Orthodox Patriarchal Church, literally, "syphilitic" and "dissolute"... At the same time I realized that a "concordat" between the Vatican and the Third International had failed not because the Vatican "rejected" or "condemned" such an agreement, but because Communists themselves did not want it. I realized why Orthodox cathedrals, churches and parishes were put to rout by Catholics in Poland in the 1930s... I realized, finally, the true meaning of the Catholic "prayers for the salvation of Russia" both in its original short form and in a later version composed in 1926 by Pope Benedetto XV and announced, if read, to be rewarded with a "three hundred-day indulgence"...

And now when we can see how long the Vatican has been equipping itself for a crusade to Russia, buying up Russian religious books, Orthodox icons and whole icon-screens and training masses of the Catholic clergy for a simulation of the Orthodox worship service in Russian (Catholicism of the Eastern rite), and making a thorough study of the Orthodox thought and soul to prove its historical impotence, we all, Russian people, should ask ourselves: what is then the difference between Orthodoxy and Catholicism, and try to answer this question with all possible objectivity, directness and historical precision.

It is the difference in doctrine, church order, rite, mission, policy, ethics, and performance. The last is of vital and primary importance because it provides the key to the understanding of the rest.

The difference in doctrine is known to every Orthodox Christian: first, in contra-diction to the actions of the 2nd Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 381) and the 3rd Ecumenical Council (Canon 7, Ephesus, 431), the Catholics introduced into the Creed Article 8 an addition about the Holy Spirit proceeding not only from the Father, but also from the Son (*filioque*); secondly, they added to it in the 19th century a new Catholic doctrine that the Virgin Mary was conceived

immaculately (*de immaculata conception*); thirdly, in 1870 a new doctrine was established on the infallibility of the Pope of Rome in Church affairs and teaching (*ex cathedra*); fourthly, in 1950 another doctrine was established on the bodily ascension of the Virgin Mary after her death. These doctrines are not recognized by the Orthodox Church. These are principal dogmatic differences.

The difference in church order is that the Catholics recognize the Roman Pontiff as the Head of the Church and Christ's substitute on earth, whereas the Orthodox recognize only one head of the Church—Jesus Christ, and consider it the only right way that the Church should be built on Ecumenical and Local Councils. Orthodoxy does not recognize the secular power of bishops, nor does it honour the Catholic orders, especially the Jesuits. There are the major distinctions.

The differences in rite are the following: Orthodoxy does not recognize the divine service in Latin; it follows the liturgy composed by Basil the Great and John Chrysostom and does not recognize Western patterns; it keeps the communion in the form of bread and wine, commanded by our Saviour, and rejects the "communion" with "consecrated wafers" introduced by the Catholics for the laity; it recognizes icons, but does not allow sculptural images in churches; it lifts up confession to Christ invisibly present in the church and rejects the confessional as a tool of earthly power in the hands of a priest. Orthodoxy has created a distinct culture of church singing, praise and bell-ringing; it has different vestments; it has a different sign of the cross, the different sanctuary interior; it knows of kneeling, but rejects the Catholic "knees-bending"; it does not know of the rattling ring during prayers, and many other things. These are the major differences in rite.

The differences in mission are the following: Orthodoxy recognizes the freedom of confession and rejects the whole spirit of inquisition—the execution of heretics, torture, stakes and forced baptism (Charlemagne). It observes the purity of religious contemplation in conversion and its freedom from any outside incitement, especially harassment, political calculation or material aid ("charity"); it does not believe that any material aid to a brother in Christ proves the benefactor's "orthodoxy". According to Gregory the Theolo-gian, it seeks "not to conquer, but to

acquire brothers" in faith. Nor does it seek power on earth by all means. These are the major differences in mission.

The differences in policy are as follows: the Orthodox Church has never claimed either secular domination or power struggle in the form of a political party. The time-honoured Russian Orthodox solution of this problem is this: the Church and the state have special and different tasks, but help each other in the struggle for the good; the state rules without ruling the Church and enforcing mission; the Church organizes its affairs freely and independently, observing secular loyalty, but judges everything according to its own Christian measure-stick and offers good advice, or possibly lays accusations, to the rulers, and good instruction to the laity (remember Metropolitan Filipp and Patriarch Tikhon). Its tool is not a sword, or party politics, or its order's intrigue, but counsel, instruction, accusation, and excommunication. The Byzantine and post-Petrine deviations from this order were unhealthy phenomena.

Catholicism, on the contrary, in all times and things and by all means has sought power, whether secular, clerical, material, or personal.

The difference in ethics is the following: Orthodoxy appeals to the free human heart, whereas Catholicism to the blindly obedient will. Orthodoxy seeks to awaken in a person a living, creative love and Christian conscience, whereas Catholicism demands obedience and observance of prescriptions (adherence to the letter of law). Orthodoxy inquires for the best and calls to the gospel's perfection, whereas Catholicism inquires for things "prescribed", "forbidden", "permissible", "pardonable", and "unpardonable". Orthodoxy goes deep into the soul, seeking sincere faith and sincere goodness, whereas Catholicism disciplines the outer man, seeking an outward piety, and satisfies itself with the appearance of good works.

All this is intimately connected with the initial profound difference in performance, which is to be thought over to the full, once and for ever.

Confession varies in its basic religious performance and arrangement. Important is not only what you believe in, but also by what means, that is by what powers of our soul, this belief is realized. Since Christ the Saviour established faith on the basis of living love (Mt. 23.27; Mk. 12.30-

33; Lk. 10.27; cf. 1 Jn. 4. 7-8,16), we know where to look for faith and how to find it. This is what is most important for understanding not only one's own faith, but especially other people's faith, and the whole history of religion. This is how we must come to the understanding of both Orthodoxy and Catholicism.

There are religions born from fear and fed on fear; thus most Africans fear above all darkness and night, evil spirits, sorcery, and death. It is in struggle with this fear and by its exploitation in others that their religion is shaped.

There are religions born of lust and fed on eroticism misunderstood as "inspiration". Such are the religion of Dionysius-Bacchus and "Shivaism of the Left Hand" in India; such is the Russian Flagellism.

There are religions which live by fantasy and imagination. Their adherents are content with mythological legends and chimeras, verses, sacrifices, and rituals, neglecting love, will and thought. Such is Indian Brahmanism.

Buddhism was created as a religion of life-rejection and asceticism. Confucianism emerged as a religion of history-suffered and sincere moral doctrine. Religious performance in Egypt was devoted to the overcoming of death. Judaism sought above all the national self-assertion on earth, emphasizing genoteism (exclusively ethnic god!) and moral law. The Greeks created a religion of the home and visible beauty, while the Romans a religion of magic rite. And what about Christians?

The Orthodox and the Catholic faiths are equally traced back to Christ, the Son of God, and to the Gospel's message. Nevertheless, their religious performances are not only different, but incompatible in their opposition. This determines all those distinctions I indicated above.

For an Orthodox Christian the initial basic awakening of faith comes from his heart moved by the loving contemplation of the Son of God in all His goodness, perfection and spiritual power, making him bow down and accept Him as the very truth of God and the most important treasure in his life. In the light of this perfection the Orthodox comes to realize his own sinfulness and to use it to strengthen his own conscience, embarking upon the path of repentance and purification.

In contrast to this, the Catholic's faith is generated by his will to put trust in some (Catholic-ecclesiastic) authority, to

subject himself to it and to force himself to adopt whatever this authority may decide or prescribe, including the matter of good and evil, sin and its permissibility.

Therefore, the Orthodox soul is animated by free adoration, goodness, and heart-felt joy to blossom into faith and corresponding good works. Here the message of Christ brings about sincere love for God, while free love awakens the Christian will and conscience in the soul.

In contrast to this, the Catholic coerces himself by continued effort into the faith that is prescribed to him by his authority.

Yet in actual fact the will governs only outer motions of the body; to a far lesser degree it controls the conscious thought, and to an even lesser degree does it control the life of imagination and everyday feelings. Neither love, nor faith, or conscience, can be controlled by the will and can altogether refuse to respond to its "compulsions". One can force oneself to standing and bowing, but it is impossible to coerce oneself into worship, prayer, love and thanksgiving. It is only outer "devotion" that obeys the will, and it is nothing more than an outward appearance or mere pretence. One can coerce oneself into material "sacrifice"; but the gift of love, compassion, and mercy cannot be extracted by either one's will or an authority. Thought and imagination follow love, both temporal and spiritual, by themselves, naturally and freely, while will can sweat over them all its life yet fail to subject them to its pressure. From an open and loving heart, conscience, like God's voice, will speak independently and powerfully. But the disciplined will does not at all provoke conscience, and obedience to an external authority will eventually stifle personal conscience.

This is the way in which this opposition and irreconcilability between the two confessions unfold themselves; and we, Russian people, must think it through.

Those who build their religion on their will and obedience to an authority will inevitably limit their faith to an intellectual and verbal "recognition" leaving their hearts cold and hard, replacing the living love by law and discipline and the Christian love by "laudable" but dead works. And their prayer itself will turn into soulless words and insincere bodily motions. Those who know the religion of old pagan Rome will immediately

recognize its tradition in all this. These traits of the Catholic religiosity have always been experienced by the Russian soul as alien, strange, artificial, and insincere. When we hear from the Orthodox people that the Catholic worship service has an outward solemnity sometimes brought to an imposing "beauty", while lacking sincerity and warmth, humbleness and flame, and the very prayer, therefore, a real spiritual beauty, then we know where to look for an explanation to it.

This opposition of the two confessions is seen in everything. Thus, the primary task of an Orthodox missionary is to give people in full the Holy Gospel and the divine service in their own language; whereas the Catholics stick to Latin unintelligible as it is for most people and forbid the faithful to read the Bible on their own. The Orthodox soul seeks to draw near Christ Himself in everything, beginning from his solitary prayer to partaking the Holy Gifts. The Catholic Christian dares to think and feel about Christ only what he is allowed to think and feel by an authoritative mediator standing between him and God; in communion itself he remains deprived and humiliated because he is denied the transubstantiated Wine and receives, instead the transubstantiated Bread, a substitutive "wafer".

Furthermore, if faith depends on will and option, then, apparently, a non-believer does not believe because he does not want to, while a heretic indulges in heresy because he decided to believe in his own way, and a "witch" serves the devil because she is possessed with an evil will. Naturally, they all commit crime before God's Law and ought to be punished. Hence the inquisition and all those cruel acts with which the medieval history of Catholic Europe is saturated. There were crusades against heretics, stakes, torture, extermination of whole cities, like Steding in Germany in 1234; in 1568 all citizens of the Netherlands except those specifically named were condemned to death as heretics. In Spain the inquisition ceased to exist as late as 1834. The justification of these executions is understandable: an unbeliever is a person who refuses to believe, therefore, is a villain and criminal in the face of God; as hell fire awaits him, he had better be put to a short-lived fire of the earthly stake than to the eternal fire of hell. Naturally, those who

willed themselves to believe would try to will others, and they see in disbelief or a different belief not an error, or misfortune, or blindness, nor a spiritual weakness, but an ill will.

In contrast with it, an Orthodox priest follows St. Paul (2 Cor. 1.24) in refusing to seek "dominion over your faith", but to be "helpers in your joy", and to always remember Christ's commandment about "tares" not to be weeded away prematurely (Mt. 13.25-36). He recognizes the guiding wisdom of Athanasius the Great and Gregory the Theologian: "That which is done by force, against one's wish, is not only forced, devoid of freedom, and infamous, but simply non-existent" (Homily 2.15). Hence the instruction given by Metropolitan Makary in 1555 to the first Archbishop of Kazan, Gury: "All possible ways shall be used to make the Tatars accustomed to ourselves and bring them to baptism through love, but through fear they are not to be brought to baptism at all." From times immemorial the Orthodox Church has believed in a free and sincere faith independent from earthly interests and calculations. Hence the words of Cyril of Jerusalem: "Simon the Magus washed his body with water in the font, but failed to enlighten his heart with the spirit; his body went down and out, but his soul failed to be buried with it and raised."

Furthermore, the will of a worldly man seeks power. And the Church which builds its faith on will is sure to seek power. This was the case with the Mohammedans; this has been the case with the Catholics throughout their history. They have always sought power in the world, as though the Kingdom of God were of this world. They have been seeking all kinds of power: independent secular power for their popes and cardinals, power over kings and emperors (remember the Middle Ages), power over souls, especially, wills of their followers (a confessional as a tool), party power in the modern "democratic" state, secret power of their orders as totalitarian cultural dominion over all things (Jesuits). They regard power as a tool to install the Kingdom of God on earth—the idea which has always been alien to the Gospel's teaching and to the Orthodox Church.

Power on earth requires dexterity, compromise, cunning, pretence, falsehood, deception, intrigue, treachery, and often even crime. Hence the teaching that the aim allows means. In vain do their opponents interpret this Jesuit teaching to

say that the aim "justifies" or "sanctifies" bad means. In doing it, they only help the Jesuits with objections and refutations. The point here is not "righteousness" or "sacredness", but rather permission by the Church, permissibility, or moral "soundness". It is in this connection that outstanding Jesuit fathers, such as Escobar Y. Mendoza, Sot, Taulet, Vascoz, Lessius, Sankez and some others, argue that "actions become good or bad depending on whether the aim is good or bad". A man's aim, however, is known to him alone; it is a personal, private affair which can be easily simulated. Closely connected with it is the Catholic teaching whereby falsehood and deceit are admissible and even un sinful if only the words uttered are interpreted "differently" for oneself, or ambiguous expressions are used, or the utterance is limited by silence, or the truth is hushed up, then a lie is not a lie, and deceit is not deceit, and a false oath is not sinful (see Jesuits Lemecoule, Suarez, Busenbaum, Leimann, Sankez, Alagon, Lessius, Escobar and others).

The Jesuits have still another teaching which gives a free hand to their Order and its leaders. This is a teaching on bad actions committed allegedly "by God's will". Thus, Jesuit Peter Alagon (as well as Busenbaum) writes: "By God's will it is possible to kill an innocent person, to steal, and to fornicate, because He is the Lord of life and death, and one must obey His order". It goes without saying that whether this monstrous and impossible "order" is given by God is up to a Catholic church authority to decide, and to obey it is the very essence of the Catholic faith (all these facts are borrowed from the book by I. A. Ilyin "On Resistance to Evil by Force", where the authentic sources are cited).

Those who have thought over these traits of Catholicism will turn to the Orthodox Church to realize once and for ever that the most fundamental traditions of the two confessions are opposite and incompatible. Moreover, it will be understood that the whole Russian culture was shaped, strengthened and developed in the spirit of Orthodoxy to become what it was in the early 20th century for the express reason that it was not Catholic. The Russian man believed and still believes through love, prays by his heart, and reads the Gospel freely; and the authority of the Church helps him in his freedom,

and this freedom teaches him, opening his mental eyes, without scaring him by earthly punishments so that he may "avoid" those of the other world. The Russian charity and Russian tsars' "love of the poor" stemmed from heart and kindness. The Russian art grew wholly from a free contemplation by the heart, and so did the sublimity of Russian poetry, the dreamfulness of Russian prose, the profundity of Russian painting, the sincere lyricism of Russian music, the expressiveness of Russian sculpture, the inspiration of Russian architecture, and the emotionality of Russian theatre. The spirit of Christian love also penetrated into Russian medicine with its spirit of service, selflessness, intuitive-holistic diagnoses, individual approach, and brotherly attitude towards the suffering; into Russian jurisprudence with its search for justice; into Russian mathematics with its subject-matter contemplation. In Russian historiography the same spirit of Christian love created the traditions of Soloviev, Klyuchevsky and Zabelin. In the Russian army it created the tradition of Suvorov; and in the Russian school the tradition of Ushinsky and Pirogov. It is the heart that sees the profound bond between Russian Orthodox saints and startsy and the organization of the Russian, both simple and more sophisticated, soul. The whole way of Russian everyday life is special and distinct, because the Slavic heart has been strengthened by Orthodox behests. And essentially Russian non-Orthodox confessions, too, have absorbed rays of the same freedom, simplicity, cordiality, and sincerity.

Let us also remember that our White Movement with its loyalty to the state, patriotic zeal and sacrificial nature arose from free and faithful hearts to hold it together to this day. Responsive conscience, sincere prayer and personal "volunteerism" belong to the best gifts of Orthodoxy and there are no reasons whatsoever to replace them by Catholic traditions.

Hence our attitude to "the Catholicism of Eastern Rite" prepared now in the Vatican and many Catholic monasteries. Its very idea to subjugate the soul of the Russian people through a feign imitation of their liturgy, using this fraudulent operation to implant Catholicism in Russia, is something religiously false, ungodly and immoral for us. In this way ships carry alien flags in a war; contraband is smuggled through a border; in this way, too, in Shakespeare's "Hamlet", a brother puts

deadly poison in his king-brother's ear in his sleep. If anybody wants a proof of what Catholicism is and how it tries to seize power in the world, then its last undertaking renders all other proofs superfluous.

We Were Right

Our destiny, the destiny of Russian people of the 20th century, is unprecedentedly sad. For the first time in history such strong forces of evil have been mobilized: such methods of terrorism have been invented as to compromise the very principle of statehood; a conspiracy of such a great international scope, undermining capacity, malicious pointedness and unlimited ferocity has been conceived. All this inspires respect in spiritually weak people, people of "carrier by all means", people greedy and wicked. To this day we can see individual and collective "landslides" among both foreigners and Russian people. Sometimes it even seems as though a dark fog of temptation were rising from the earth to stupefy people and shadow their sense of honour, conscience and faithfulness. It often happens so that people come to their senses only when they are caught in totalitarian slavery, making them realize, to their horror, that they have let the moment pass and that the only thing left for them is either to submit to slavery or to risk their lives in fruitless protests.

We as people who realized this danger of global corruption and enslavement thirty three years ago* and used these years to do all possible to explain, overcome and prevent it, feel sometimes ineffably bitter and hurt. We feel pain for the Motherland, our wonderful and glorious Russia which has suffered so much in history and overcome so many difficulties and dangers and created such a unique national culture—a whole treasury of religious sanctity, great personalities, personal feats, profound thinking, profound feeling and great art—all this coming from a special national-spiritual act. We feel bitter for Russian people who are either enslaved and, what is more horrible, already accustomed to slavery and tyranny, or dispersed among foreign lands, living among foreign people as deprived, suspected and hardly tolerable aliens. We feel pain and shame to see our rotten time and the lack of people with spiritual backbone and of character; and

* The article was written in 1950.

it is disturbing to see the generation which no longer knows how to love and believe.

In order to survive this flow of misery and humiliation effectively and courageously we should firmly believe in our spiritual rightness and in the future revival of Russia. We had long years and numerous reasons to reconsider our principal line—faithfulness to national Russia and rejection of totalitarian communism, but every deeper thought, every event which shed more light on the darkness around us, and every new failure of the new state strengthened us in the thought that our principal line was right from the very beginning. And every new hour of history brings to us and to the whole world new proofs of our initial rightness and new reports about people who are recovering or have already recovered their sight.

We were right in rising for the Motherland and devoting everything to her; for people without a Motherland become a historical dust, pallid autumn leaves carried from place to place and dragged in the mud by aliens. We were right in defending our religious faith, for godless and apostate people have their spirit and conscience corrupted, their science dried-up and demoralized, their art depraved, their family decayed, and their culture exhausted. We were right in defending our freedom, for in totalitarian states man loses his personality and independence to become a slave to the state, harassed flatterer, obedient yes-man devoid of personal convictions. We were also right when we did not expect any salvation for Russia from the republican form of government, for before our own eyes the February Republic soon ruined both Russia and its Army, compromised and wasted state power, unleashed all kinds of cravings, and collapsed at the first internal bump because it could not and did not want to offer anything to overcome it, while the October revolution soon degenerated into the most horrible tyranny in human history. We were right when we consistently

rejected socialism and communism, for wherever this kind of regime is implemented, people begin to realize that not only their property has been confiscated, but also their creative initiative in working and earning their living has been expropriated, that this regime is unnatural, violent and inevitably totalitarian; people begin to realize that private property is inherent in man as is his own body and necessary as the basis of his independence in work.

We were right when we saw in revolution not salvation, but a mortal danger; when we refused to accept those temptations of dishonour which were accepted by so many; when we rejected non-resistance and adjustment... We were especially right when we kept faith in the spiritual strength of our people and their future revival. It will come, it will begin, for the way is being prepared for it already now in the depth of the people's soul and by those Russian people who, while staying in their country, succeeded in preserving their loyalty to it and their faith in it, and those who, while having to drink up the cup of humiliation and compromise, accumulate patriotic anger in their hearts, and also those who by their base deeds are scraping a fatal hole in the evil foundation of terror, communist banalities and totalitarian falsehood to bring it to a satanic breakdown.

The renewal is slow to ripen. It is ripe when those hesitant and fallen away are back on our path—the path of patriotism, freedom, loyalty and national statehood, as our brothers. We do not know when this hour will strike, but we do know that it will strike and that it will be a feast of our justification by all nation.

We find a great consolation in two things which encourage and strengthen us: the blessing of realization that we are right and the joy of confidence that the hour will come when Russia will rise, liberate herself and take up again her stately historical course.

FACTS. EVENTS. LANDMARKS

In August 1992 the translation of the relics of Sts. Zosima, Savvaty and Germogen of the Solovki from the St. Aleksandr Nevsky Lavra's Trinity Cathedral of St. Petersburg to the Transfiguration Cathedral of the Solovki Monastery took place.

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After many years of laborious, intense and truly zealous work of a group of employees of the Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchate headed by Archimandrite Innocenty Prosvirin, in December 1992 the first book (vol. 7—New Testament) of a ten-volume illustrated edition of the Bible in Russian was published. The new edition is based on the well-known Bible published in 1499 in Novgorod by a group of scholars with Archbishop Gennady of Novgorod († December 4, 1505) at the head. The Old Slavonic text has a Russian synodal translation; the old biblical miniature was the source of the illustration material. There are no analogical editions in Russia.

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On November 15, 1992, an agreement was signed by the Moscow Patriarchate and the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation on joint use of the churches of the Moscow Kremlin and Cathedral of St. Vasily the Blessed in Red Square in Moscow.

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On November 30, 1992, His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia returned to Moscow from New York after an unofficial visit to the USA at the invitation of Metropolitan Feodosy, Primate of the Orthodox Church of America. Together with Metropolitan Feodosy His Holiness the Patriarch took part in the celebration of the 90th anniversary of the consecration of the St. Nicholas Patriarchal Cathedral in New York. In 1902 the cathedral was consecrated by Bishop Tikhon of the Aleutians and Northern America, elected Patriarch of All Russia by the Local Council of 1917-1918 and canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church on October 9, 1989.

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President of Russia has signed a direction "On the Trinity-St. Sergy Lavra and Measures on the Preservation of the National, Historical and Cultural Legacy on the Territory of the Sergiev Posad District of the Moscow Re-

gion". In accordance with the document, the buildings of the museum of history and art are being handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church.

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Donations are being collected for the restoration of the Church of Christ the Saviour in Moscow.

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On November 26, 1992, His Grace Bishop Afanasy of Perm and Solikamsk consecrated the main Sanctuary of the Ascension Church in Perm. The church had been first consecrated in 1910. In 1927 it was closed down and desecrated.

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A ceremony of the consecration of the Resurrection Cathedral (17th century) returned to the Russian Orthodox Church took place in Staraya Russa.

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Orthodox believers in Byelorussia have found themselves in a difficult situation. Hundreds of Roman Catholic missionaries openly proselytize among the Orthodox population. The situation in the Ukraine and in Russia is the same.

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On November 20 representatives of the Union of Orthodox Fellowships picketed the Ukrainian Embassy in Moscow protesting against handing the diocesan administration of the town of Ivano-Frankovsk over to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

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The Union of Orthodox Fellowships has conducted a moleben for peace in Serbia. It was conducted by Hieromonk Kirill Sakharov, chairman of the union, at the Church of St. Sergy of Radonezh in Rogozhskaya St.

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According to a public opinion poll 60 per cent of the population of Byelorussia consider themselves Orthodox,¹ 1/3 are atheists and only 1 per cent of Byelorussians are adherents of the Uniate (Graeco-Catholic) Church.

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A public opinion poll in Romania shows that 87 per cent of the population are Orthodox, 6 per cent—Catholics (including 1 per cent of Uniates), 0.5 per cent of the population consider themselves atheists or do not belong to any confession.

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There are 197 churches in Moscow belonging to the Moscow Patriarchate. Divine services are conducted in 132 of them. Besides 197 parish churches there are 7 Kremlin cathedrals, 7 churches of the Patriarchal Podvorye in Kitai-Gorod, 7 domestic chapels at the Moscow Patriarchate institutions, 10—at hospitals and prisons; there are also 4 churches under construction, two belfries, one chapel and 23 churches at 4 monasteries. 334 priests and 96 deacons (with the exception of the monasteries' staff) serve in Moscow.

Since 1988 the number of functioning churches has increased more than 5 times, and the number of the clergy doubled.

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The 250th anniversary of the establishment of the St. Petersburg Diocese, one of the most significant in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church, was celebrated.

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According to the statistical data of the Social Demography Centre at the Russian Academy of Sciences the population of Russia decreases annually by more than a million.

A number of those born in Russia in the 9 months of 1992 in comparison with the same period of time in 1991 is 148 thousand less.

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If an end is not put to the mass baby-killings by means of abortions, in some 25-30 years no children's laugh will be heard in the Russian land.

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Architect Konstantin Yefremov of the town of Kurgan became a prizewinner in an international competition for the best project of a church in Yekaterinburg on the site of the execution of the tsar's family.

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The fourth meeting of the Union of Orthodox Fellowships of the Ukraine took place in November 1992. Participating in the meeting were representatives of the brotherhoods from the Lugansk and Donetsk Regions, from Bukovina and the Crimea, from the towns of Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, Vinnitsa, Krivoi Rog and other towns. A new council of the Union of Orthodox Fellowships of the Ukraine was elected.

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A festal procession and a solemn moleben took place near the building of the former Church of St. Innokenty in Khabarovsk. By the decision of the Regional Soviet the building is returned to the Khabarovsk Diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the last thirty years it housed the city planetarium.

The Building of Statehood

The building of statehood is a feat. In its original spiritual sense the word means progress towards moral perfection, unquenchable thirst for holiness. The people who follow this path embody their moral ideals in their state and social activity. The building of statehood therefore is impossible without relying for support on national religious shrines.

It has become the fashion of late to present Christianity as a sort of a vague and amorphous world-view spineless in its resignation to all that is going around. If it is said, *Love your enemies* (Mt. 5.44; Lk. 6.27, 35), *resist not evil* (Mt. 5.39), then a Christian should somehow acquiesce in any iniquity or violation.

This allegation is a conscious and malicious lie spread by the enemies of Christ, the Orthodox Church and our Motherland. Slander about Christianity and distortion of church teaching are used in an attempt to hamper the process of Russian spiritual revival, to prevent the people from re-discovering their time-honoured shrines and rendering them devoted service as was for many centuries the meaning and goal of Russia's existence. And it is in this first and foremost concern of the people's spiritual life that a forgery, a devilishly crafty juggling of notions, a disastrous distortion of the gospel teaching, has been committed.

Yes, Christianity is certainly a religion of peace and love, not enmity and hatred. Yes, the primary Christian commandment is that of love of God as the focus of every good thing and blessing—mercy and patience, beauty, harmony, and justice. But for this very reason it is quite natural that everything that runs contrary to this commandment or prevents a Christian from fulfilling it should be hateful for him. It is the only hatred which is sacred—the hatred for evil, sin, human passions, and satanic iniquities. To all this the Christian should be absolutely irreconcilable.

“Live in peace with enemies, your enemies, not those of God”, instructs us the great pillar of Orthodoxy, St. John Chrysostom. “Do not resist evil”, says the Word of God, that is to say, do not murmur, but accept gratefully all personal sorrows, pains and temptations which it pleases God to send upon you. But this appeal does not at all mean to pander to

criminal indifference towards the fate of the Motherland tormented in an hour of hardships by villains and sacrilegists. Peace with evil is inadmissible, and this is what our Saviour meant when He said, *Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword* (Mt. 10.34).

This spiritual sword that the Russian Church has firmly held in her hand for a thousand years is still a dread for her enemies—precursors and servants of the coming Antichrist. According to the Holy Fathers, the Church on earth is the Militant Church, while the arena of our life on earth is a field of battle and feat. Love ought not to be reckless. It does not dissolve in those whom it lovingly embraces. Nor can love force one to embrace a fatal misconception. The true love is one that wages an incessant struggle to defend those who have put their trust in it against evil often disguising its true face under the mask of goodness. Pseudo-Christian “love” and falsely understood “forgiveness of all”, that is peace with all without discretion, are the very things needed by those who are fiercely building up universal “unification” and “reconciliation” under the motto of a “new world order”—a political screen to disguise the diabolic grin of cruel anti-Christian dictatorship.

For long centuries the Russian statehood was the force which prevented these diabolic designs from being realized. Now, with our connivance, it is almost ruined. To restore it is a matter of life and death for Russia. The fate of Russia can shape the fate of the world; that is why the problem of statehood building in Russia acquires a global dimension. Are we ready to solve it?

I have already written elsewhere that statehood is the public conscience of the people who have assumed the ecclesiastical service of “the ones who hold out”, that is, are ready to stand to death on the way of the satanic evil struggling to break into

the world. The very notion of this service as holding the world off strife and chaos by introducing into it the highest ethical element, inspiring and enlightening it with love and justice, takes its origin in the Church. It was introduced by the Chief Apostle Paul in his second letter to the Christian community in Thessaloniki on the Aegean Sea shore in 52 A. D.

Any society wishing to avoid a bloody strife should rely upon law. Human conscience requires that law be just: evil be punished and good asserted. But inasmuch as people are imperfect, being sinful, morally lax and passionate, so their laws are imperfect. The only just law salvific for every soul has been given to us by God Himself, and this law is the Law of God perfect in its justice and morality. It is set forth most fully and precisely in the teaching of the Church. It is the Law of God that should be made the basis of human social life for it to be imbibed with the spirit of statehood.

The Church has always been a source of the statehood spirit. The church teaching, alone containing the age-long experience of struggle against the evil both in individual soul and in the social and state sphere, possesses the spiritual power necessary to organize and bring this struggle to success. This precious experience has been gained by numerous generations of holy men and abundantly watered by their sweat, the prayerful tears of those who sought the truth of the Heavenly Kingdom and the blood of Christ-loving warriors who, according to God's commandment, laid down their lives for their friends. Not to use this experience now when the neglect of it has brought the State to the brink of ruin is immoral and criminal.

Unfortunately, today's conceptions of Russian revival are marked with confusion and contradiction. We seem to be unable to decide what we want, what is to be revived, and by what means.

Russia... Holy Russia... the Abode of the Most Holy Mother of God... What lies behind these names? If we do not look into the authentic, not invented, contents of millennium-old Russian history and analyse what Russia was in her own eyes and in the face of God, we will not remove the fatal confusion among Russian patriots today.

Russia is the state of Russian people whom God has entrusted with the selfless confessional service, of a people, bearing

God in the heart, a protector and steward of the shrines of faith. These shrines are religious and moral principles enabling us to build our personal, family, social and state life in the way that allows to resist the work of evil and to make all possible room for the works of good. Such was the history-shaped self-understanding of Russian people. This was the very foundation of Russian self-consciousness as shaped by the ten centuries of its history. For centuries it was the basis of the policy of the Russian state.

Who fostered the unshakable statehood spirit of Russian patriotism throughout centuries? The Orthodox Church did! Who inspired the gallant and gave strength to the faint-hearted, sanctifying the cause of defending the Motherland as personal religious duty for every man capable of carrying arms? Who taught the Russian man to be loyal without adulation, to be brave without cruelty, to be generous without wastefulness, to be steadfast without fanaticism, to be strong without pride, to be charitable without vanity, to be zealous without anger? The Orthodox Church did!

Brothers and sisters, remember that it was the blessed Metropolitan Kirill, Aleksandr Nevsky's spiritual father and associate, who, hand in hand with the prince, defended his native land against invasions from East and West, from Tatar hordes and hordes of crusaders.

It was St. Sergy, Hegumen of Radonezh, who gave his blessing to Dmitry Donskoi before the Kulikovo Battle, predicted his victory and, in violation of all customs and regulations, gave him the two warrior-monks, Peresvet and Oslabya, as a visible image of the Russian Church's participation in the struggle for the freedom of the Motherland. They both fell in the fight in the Don fields, side by side with numerous anonymous Russian warriors who gave their lives for their faith and Motherland, defending Holy Russia from the pagan rule.

It was the Holy Martyr Patriarch Germogen, a grey-haired weak old man dying of starvation in a Polish prison, who rendered his powerful archpastoral voice to raise from its knees the country plunged into intrigue and fratricide, shamed the faint-hearted, encouraged the confused, and brought together all those who craved for delivering the Russian land from bondage at the hands of non-Orthodox aliens. I speak about it in such detail in

order to make it clear: what people who reject the Orthodox spirituality and the Church would like to "revive" is not Russia. While admitting their personal good intentions and integrity, we must still realize that their path leads to an impasse. Devoid of any religious and moral support, the national self-consciousness will either collapse under the pressure of cosmopolitan evildoers or degenerate into unjustified national pride. Either is death for Russia. Only a blind man would not see this danger.

"Patriots" who swear love for Mother Russia while rejecting Orthodoxy love some other country they have invented for themselves. The "patriotic" press calling for Russian revival while advertising on its pages extrasensory and other "healers", astrologists and sorcerers seems to lack an elementary national instinct.

What then is the Christian way of statehood building? It is hardly visible now in the bustle and confusion of the contemporary socio-political chaos. Invaluable assistance in discovering it may be found in Russian history which gives to an attentive and unbiased reader a rich material for finding an answer to the question posed to us by life itself.

Russian life for many centuries was marked with people's strong desire to realize their religious and moral ideal in all its real diversity. Here lie the roots of Russian statehood treating state power and social harmony not as a goal in itself, but a God-given means for keeping national life in the state of the Gospel purity. The goal of this national unity, as the ecclesiastical interpretation of the world would suggest, is to preserve the purity of faith and hold to its saving truth. Life introduced its own corrections, of course, making the ideal unattainable, as it ought to be, but the centuries-old experience of our sovereign ancestors opening up a way towards this ideal is topical and urgent as never before. Here are only some grains of this precious experience:

1. The Unity of Politics and Ethics

Power has always been understood in Russia not as an object of ambitious cravings, or a reward to the most impudent, cunning and unprincipled fighters as the political ring, or a bottomless feeding trough for officials and bureaucrats, but the religious service to the commandments

of good and justice and "God's tax". "Do not have pride in your hearts and minds", wrote Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh in 1117, instructing his sons how to treat power, "for all are mortals, alive today and in the grave tomorrow. All that we have has been given by You, O Lord. It is not ours but Yours that You have given us but for a day". The idea that a prince, or a tsar, or any one "who has power", is only an administrator of God-given power accountable to Him for the nation entrusted to his care underlied the self-understanding of any legitimate authority in Russia.

2. The Unity of the People and the Authorities

Russian history teaches us that a community wishing to preserve sovereignty should realize the following: the highest authority in a country belongs not to a particular party, or organization, or estate, or even the people as a whole, but to the basic principles of morality: "Do not lie!", "Do not steal!", "Do not fornicate!", "Do not be mean!", "Do not envy!", "Do not be angry!", "Do not be highminded!". This is what shapes our life. Russian people were well aware of it many centuries ago. "What is this Great Prince Dimitry like?" asks the author of the *Life* of St. Dimitry Donskoi, the Prince's contemporary, and replies, "You have kept purity and, being a servant of God, have kept the God-given throne, proving yourself the sovereign master of the Russian land". This moral purity, this mutual recognition of the primacy of God's Law by both the people and the authorities, is the token of their unity based not on fear but on conscience: both in sorrow and joy, in magnificence and humility, and in the face of historical trials and upheavals.

The Commandments of God have always been the Constitution of Orthodox Russia. In them the Lord Himself reveals to people His holy will; it is for this very reason that Christianity did not, does not, and will not recognize any other source of power. That is why this power was personified by God's Anointed One—the Russian Tsar. That is why the autocratic form of government had always been attractive for Russian statehood. Russian autocracy is a system not so much political as religious, showing the loftiness of the people's view of the nature and purpose of power.

In this view the place of the people themselves in the social organism of the Russian State had always been more important and honoured than the one that is offered to them now by the sycophant zealots of "the power of the people". In their conciliar plenitude they represented living stewards of the sacred religious and moral values and their embodiment in everyday life. Moreover, the people have never ceased this service. It is for this very reason that today, too, despite the diabolical efforts to corrupt Russia, the Russian soul is still alive and offers a solid foundation for the revival of the nation.

Strange though it may seem to the public opinion today, the obstacle on this way is above all the myth about "the power of the people". Actually, this principle cannot be realized. Tell me, Russian people, quite frankly: Who among you feel "having power" today? The slogan of people's power is only an arch bait for credulous people, a screen behind which politicians without honour and conscience arrange their shady affairs, robbing people "in the name of the people". So, let us say honestly: no people have ever confided their power to anybody for the simple reason that they have never had this power.

In all ages in Russia the Church has been interested in a strong, healthy and responsible power, and this is not because of servility, of course, but because such a power means peace, not civil conflicts and wars, as well as an opportunity to raise Russian children as dignified citizens, not kithless grabbers and forgetful egoists, and to teach Russian girls to be faithful wives and loving mothers, not daubed fornicatrices. This power means also an opportunity to explain to people calmly and clearly that the meaning of life lies in the salvation of the soul, that is in doing good and justice, not in a crazy pursuit of money and fame.

We are well aware that the spiritual poison with which our people were fed for many years could not but affect the spiritual atmosphere in society. Let us face the truth: society is demoralized and confused; many people have no idea whatever of a healthy religious experience as the basis for sincere piety. Atheism, religious indifferentism, as well as enthusiasm for the false spirituality of occultism, heresy and sects, have taken poisonous roots in our consciousness.

But for the Russian Church there is nothing unexpected or irreparable in this situation. It is for this very purpose of healing her people's spiritual ills and ulcers that our Saviour has left her on earth. As she did a hundred and a thousand years ago, the Church continues her noble service of saving human souls and bearing witness to the Divine Truth in the world.

According to the Holy Fathers, the soul of every man is born Christian. Healthy moral notions entertained by any one of us inevitably gravitate towards the Gospel ideal, while our churching provides this natural gravitation with a basis making our moral beliefs orderly, full and clear.

3. Interethnic Unity

The present deplorable state of interethnic relations is unnatural. It is a fruit of an unscrupulous political game in which the basic needs of the people are but an excuse for fanning up hatred, while shouts of "zealots of national interests" are used to conceal their excessive love of power and the nullity of their venal souls.

The Orthodox Church has always taught that the moral criteria of assessment has unconditional and universal priority over the national ones. Russia has a great experience of peaceful co-existence of many peoples. This experience is grounded on the unique quality of the Russian soul—its all-human nature Dostoyevsky praised so much. Any national-minded Russian power, having freed the people's element from numerous bonds imposed by "reformers" and "restructurists", will be able to choose mutually acceptable forms of common life for various peoples in one and undivided Russia, using for support this inborn respect the Russian people have for other people's identity.

4. Means of Statehood Building

Russian history abounding in social upheavals has developed the best possible experience-tested tool of overcoming disorder. It is Councils, both ecclesiastical and territorial: on many occasions they proved to be the starting point in restoration of order in the Russian land. It should be remembered that the Council is neither a congress nor conversion where the self-conceited "people's elected" assemble to make "historic decisions".

The Council represents above all a religious, symbolic spiritual act enabling the people, Church and authorities to recover the unity they lost in the time of trouble, to reconcile themselves with one another and with God, to re-affirm God's Law as the basis of Russian statehood. It is this basis that underlies all actions of the Council. As Ivan the Terrible wrote about his religious feelings that prompted him the idea of a first National Council, "Let fear come into my soul, and trepidation into my bones, and let my spirit subdue and be affected and recognize my trespasses". Conscious repentance of the sin of neglecting God's commandments is that spiritual foundation which enables the Council to become an effective tool of statehood building.

To sum up, it is time for those who love Russia, not a fruit of their own imagination, to put an end to the search for a "modern Russian ideology" and the attempt to design artificial ideological systems "for the Russian people". The Russian idea has existed in its invariable moral loftiness and attractiveness for many centuries now. By God's mercy it has survived ages, times of trouble, wars, revolutions, and "restructuring", and does not need to be either replaced or amended, because it has as its basis the absolute justice of God's Law and His holy commandments.

The thunderous cry "Russia is perishing!", "Holy Russia is killed!" and so forth suggests either spiritual blindness, weakness, distrust and despondency, or malicious desire to sow panic among Russian people. Let you all know: Russia is following her own path, one of confession, torment, and sacrifice, ordained by all-powerful Providence. It will depend on

our will whether this path will become a road to the transformation of Russia, to Russian Resurrection, or will lead to the dark abyss of spiritual and physical death.

The fact that Russia has up to now not exploded in a tremendous bloody rebel in response to all the offence and insult shows that her people's great power has remained untouched and holds out hope for her revival. Let us remember Pushkin, who said, "The people are silent". Why are they? They are silent, perhaps unconsciously, in the expectation that the all-good and all-perfect will of God for them will be done.

The Orthodox Church bears witness to this will of God without ceasing, calling upon the Russian people to hearken to these words of the Holy Scriptures: *Therefore, thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and keep his charge, and his statutes, and his judgements, and commandments, always... Take heed to yourselves, that your heart be not deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them; and then the Lord's wrath be kindled against you... Behold, I set before you this day a blessing, and a curse; a blessing, if ye obey the commandments of the Lord your God... and a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but turn aside out of the way... to go after other gods... (Deut. 11.1-28).*

Therefore, Russian people, let us choose a blessing, and may Holy Russia continue to be an unsurmountable obstacle on the way of dark forces and an Abode of the Most Holy Mother of God, so that the enemies of Christ, servants of Antichrist, may fear! Amen.

*Humble IOANN,
Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Ladoga*

Confessional Bills and the Government's View on the Freedom of Conscience

Duma on May 22, 1909

Speech Delivered in the State Duma on May 22, 1909

The 4th and the 5th issues of our magazine for 1992 published an article by S. Tsvetkov, entitled "Pyotr Stolypin". In view of the topicality of the problem of relationships between the Church and the state, the editorial board of the magazine has decided to continue the publication of material on this theme.

The speech delivered by Pyotr Stolypin in the State Duma on May 22, 1909, is an example of the approach to the problem of relationships between the state and the Church traditional for pre-revolutionary Russia. Although this speech cannot be a guide to us because of the changed historical conditions (separation of the state from the Church, a different type of the state authority, etc.), it is nevertheless topical for us by its underlying principle of correspondence of state reforms to the "people's soul", people's aspirations and interests.

This is an abridged version of the speech, translated from the book: P. A. Stolypin. *We Need Great Russia: Collected Speeches Delivered in the State Duma and the State Council, 1906-1911*. Moscow, 1991.

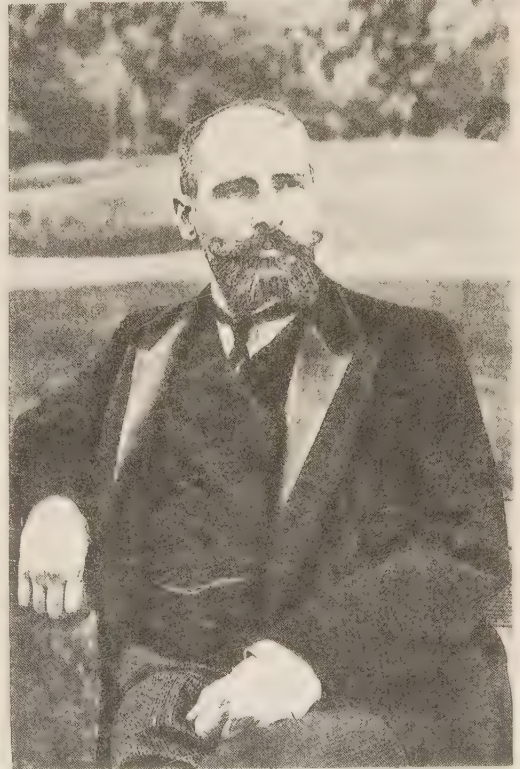
Gentlemen members of the State Duma!

The confessional bills submitted by the government, have already produced a whole literature, become the subject of heated debates in political circles and a matter of concern not only for those who are on intimate terms with the questions of faith but also for those who are indifferent to it, and who see in the way they are dealt with a sign of the general trend of our internal policy.

To start with, I shall remind you that the beginning of religious freedom in Russia is associated with three acts issued by the sovereign: Ukase of December 12, 1904, Ukase of April 17, 1905, and Ukase of October 17, 1905.

The government and legislative institutions have thus been charged with the duty to revise the norms and standards regulating the embracement of religion or secession from it, regulating confessional preaching, the way of professing faith and, finally, establishing political or civil restrictions following from the confessional status. But, entering the field of faith, the sphere of conscience, the government, I would even say, the state, should act very cautiously. In this sphere purely secular relations are not always rigidly separated from ecclesiastical ones, and are often closely interwoven. Hence, the question: what role should the dominating Church, the Orthodox Church, play in establishing a new confessional order in the country?

A look back at the past shows that



Pyotr Stolypin, Head of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Empire

the natural development of relationships between the Church and the state led to the Church's complete independence in the sphere of dogmas, in canonical questions,

to the state not hampering the Church in the field of church legislation regulating the church structure and administration, and to retaining by the state of complete freedom in determining the Church's attitudes to the state.

The science of state legislation fully confirms the correctness of this state of affairs. Speaking about the dominating religion, our well-known scholar Chicherin points out that the state certainly has the right to grant both political and property rights to the dominating Church. "But," Chicherin says, "the higher the Church's political position in the state, the deeper she penetrates the body of the state, the greater the rights of the state should also be". It follows from this, I think, that the state's refusal to deal with the ecclesio-secular legislation—complete transference of the latter under the Church's jurisdiction—would lead to the rupture of the age-old link binding the state and the Church, the link in which the state draws the strength of spirit, while the Church draws the strength of the link which gave life to our state and rendered inestimable services to it. This rupture would also signify the commencement of an epoch of mutual distrust, suspiciousness between the church authority and the general legislative authority which would lose its specific quality—the authority allied with the Church. In the eyes of the Church the state would lose its significance as an Orthodox state, while the Church would be placed in a difficult position involving the need to give herself political and civil rights with all the ensuing dangerous consequences.

Therefore, it is clear, gentlemen, that the opinion that the Church must herself determine her rights, her position in the state, springs from the instinctive distrust to the existing state establishments, especially, from the time when heterodox and non-Christian people began to take part in them. They often forget, I think, that legislative decisions, which are not final at that, are adopted not by individual persons, not even by Duma commissions, but the whole Duma, which, according to the tsar's manifesto, "should be Russian in spirit and in which other nationalities should have members to represent their needs, but not in a quantity making them the rulers of purely Russian affairs". Then, if the Duma makes a mistake, which is always possible, bills are considered by the State Council and then go to the

monarch, who according to our legislation, is the protector of the Orthodox Church, guardian of her dogmas.

Such, gentlemen, is the legitimate path which ensures the confessional order in the country. I have already pointed to this legitimate path and repeat: it consists in the fact that, neither interfering in canonical or dogmatic questions, nor hampering the Church's independence in church legislation, the state reserves the right and duty to determine political, property, civil and general criminal norms and standards following from the citizens' confessional status. But even in the latter issue the government should exert every effort to harmonize the interests of confessional freedom and general state interests with the interests of the dominating and primary Church and, to this end, should enter into preliminary relations with her on these issues...

It is absolutely clear to me that upon the receipt of a parishioner's application expressing his desire to change Orthodoxy for another faith, the secular authority is obliged to immediately notify the parish priest about this; it is obvious to me that in conformity with the laws already in force, the secular authority must guard a clergyman, performing his duty of exhortation, against all kind of violence and insults, but it is also perfectly obvious and indisputable to me that any coercive measures against the dodger would contradict the spirit of the principles of freedom of religion. Therefore the commission was right when it decided not to give general legislative institutions the right to regulate purely ecclesiastical questions, when in the process of the secession from Orthodoxy it left an intermediate term which may be offered but I think that it must be filled in accordance with the church legislation.

But, gentlemen, straightforward theories sometimes lead to the most unexpected consequences, and the Duma commission itself did not follow to the end the path it chose, and as I see it, fell into some contradictions. In reality, gentlemen, there are much more people who admit their being absolute atheists than those who would venture to embrace Mahommedanism, Buddhism or Judaism. All of the commission's considerations concerning those, who preferred non-Christianity, can be fully applied to those who declare themselves atheists. After all, these people also blaspheme, taking part in Sacraments,

and must have been excommunicated in the same way.

The commission is also absolutely right by admitting that the principle of nonreligiousness cannot be recognized here. On the one hand, the commission goes much farther than many European legislations which do not openly recognize transition from Christianity to non-Christianity, on the other, the commission does not follow the Western patterns to the end and does not venture to recognize the principle of the nonconfessional status. However, the triumph of theory is equally dangerous in both cases: everywhere, gentlemen, in all states, the principle of freedom of conscience makes concessions to the popular spirit and popular traditions and is implemented in strict conformity to them.

This is corroborated by study of all foreign legislations. Let us take the Prussian legislation, for example: it, too, raises certain barriers to freedom of conscience and freedom of religion; it demands, first, a preliminary statement about embracement of another religion, and then, it demands that a person who secedes should, in the course of two years, pay his duties to the community from which he withdraws. In the school legislation the Prussian state demands that all children, even if they do not belong to any confession, be given ecclesiastical education. Austria does not recognize marriages between Christians and non-Christians. Finally, in Switzerland, the model country of freedom of conscience, this freedom of conscience is also restricted in a way. Moreover, Switzerland does not allow monasteries and convents to be built on its territory, and prohibits Jesuits to preach there, which has already been mentioned by the deputy minister for home affairs.

It is highly surprising that in some of the Swiss cantons catechism is totally banished from schools, while in others school instruction is strictly confessional. In Lucerne, for instance, all school instruction is in the hands of the Catholic clergy, and, inasmuch as schooling is compulsory there, the education of people in Lucerne does not seem to strictly conform to the principle of freedom of conscience.

Do you really think, gentlemen, that if in other countries, which are more indifferent than ours to questions of religion, the theory of freedom of conscience makes concessions to the popular spirit, popular

beliefs and popular traditions, in this country, our popular spirit should be sacrificed to a dry theory which is incomprehensible to the people? Is it really necessary, gentlemen, to afford several dozen persons—who have already broken away from Christianity and are considered as stray by the Church—an opportunity to openly break off with the Church? Is it really necessary for the purpose to inscribe in the tablet of our legislation the principle, which in the eyes of the man in the street is tantamount to equalizing Christians with non-Christians? Will one of the principal characteristics of a Christian state really fall away in our strictly Orthodox Christianity? Our people are diligent with regard to the Church and tolerant of others' confessions but tolerance is not yet indifference.

You should not think, gentlemen, that I am going to obscure this simple question, accessible to everyone's conscience, by some exaggerated pathos, which, I must frankly say, is unseemly in this matter of conscience. I wouldn't even like to appeal to your feeling, if only a religious one.

But I believe that in this matter, the matter of conscience, we, gentlemen, must rise to the realm of spirit. Neither should political considerations be involved in this issue. I have just been told here that confessional laws were put on the agenda of the State Duma for political considerations. They allege that this issue will indicate whether the government has shifted to the left or to the right. But do they forget, gentlemen, that our government cannot shift now to the left, now to the right (**stir on the left; applause on the right**), that our government can follow only one road, the straight road indicated by the His Majesty and only recently called (**voices on the right: bravo! Applause**), and recognized by him publicly as unshakable and immutable?

And now, too, we are confronted with a great issue of implementing the lofty principles of the Ukase of April 17 and the Manifesto of October 17. Determining methods of accomplishing this task, you, gentlemen, cannot be guided by party or political considerations. You will be guided, and I am confident of this, both today and also in the future, in implementing other reforms, by different considerations, namely: how our everyday life should be changed and improved to conform new principles without affecting the vital basis of our state, the people's soul which united

and unites millions of Russians.

You, gentlemen, both believers and atheists, have all been to our remote villages, in rural churches. You saw how ardently our Russian people pray, you couldn't but sense the atmosphere of the accumulated prayerful feeling, you couldn't but realize that the words resounding in the church are Divine words for these praying people. And people, who are seeking consolation in prayer, will understand, of course, that the law does not punish for faith, for the fact that everyone prays according to his or her rite. But the same people, gentlemen, will not understand a law of a purely signboard nature, which will declare that Orthodoxy, Christianity,

is being equalized with paganism, Judaism, Mohammedanism (voices from the right: That's right! Applause on the right and in the centre).

Gentlemen, our task is not to adapt Orthodoxy to the abstract theory of freedom of conscience, but to light the luminary of confessional freedom of conscience in our Russian Orthodox state. Then, do not burden, gentlemen, our bill by the additional weight that is alien and incomprehensible to the people. Remember that the confessional law will be in force in the Russian state and that it will be approved by the Russian tsar, who has been, is and will be the Orthodox Tsar (applause on the right and in the centre).

The Golden Mean

Publishing Pyotr Stolypin's speech in the State Duma, on the confessional legislation in Russia, the editors of the magazine do not suggest, of course, that the Supreme Soviet of Russia revise the corresponding laws now in force, and eventually return to the pre-revolutionary ones. There are no grounds also to speak about the dominating Church, because the present-day state remains atheistic. We believe that Stolypin's approach to confessional legislation can be used even today to correct distortions and absurdities on matters of cult and freedom of conscience.

The principal value of Stolypin's speech is indissolubility of the state interest and a spiritual view on the style and structure of people's life, juridical competence and human wisdom. His approach is totally devoid of extreme partisanship and rigidity of the members of the Holy Governing Synod, or infatuation with theory.

It is beyond doubt that the time, foretold by Stolypin, of the rupture and "suspiciousness between the church authority and the general legislative authority" came after 1917 and bore its fruit. "The state lost the significance of an Orthodox state, and the Church... found herself in dire straits." The essence of this ugly situation consists in the separation of the Church from the state. The separation itself is juridical nonsense which has led to wholesale disorder,

political instability, because religious people, both individuals and groups (i.e., communities) cannot be separated from the state (i.e., be deprived of state control, prosecutor's supervision, criminal and civil law). It is impossible, but this has happened, nevertheless, and led to lawlessness. When property, say, a church, formally belongs to the state but is leased by a community and the Church does not possess her shrines, then, in cases of theft, for instance, it is impossible to find those responsible for it or the culprits.

Stolypin aptly said on this score: "...a legitimate way consists in the fact that, without interfering in canonical or dogmatic affairs, without hampering the Church's independence in confessional legislation, the state reserves the right and duty to determine political-property, civil and general criminal norms and standards following from the religious status of citizens."

But it is precisely its rights and duties vis-à-vis the Church and other confessions that the Russian government evades, as a result of which church property was plundered, churches were destroyed and worshippers' rights trampled upon. The aim of the Law on Religions, adopted by the Supreme Soviet on October 25, 1990, was to restore the legal order in relations between the Church and the state. But inasmuch as the separation of the Church from the

state was confirmed by the new law, it remains impotent—legal relations do not tolerate contradictions.

But Pyotr Stolypin is right not only in this. He suggests that the Duma should determine the criteria in the approach to dealing with the issue of freedom of conscience, and this criterion is profound respect for personal freedom, a guaranteed civil status in which a person may officially declare his or her belonging to no confession, which in pre-revolutionary Russia was a very rare case. Now it is all different. It is difficult to say whether there are more religious people or atheists now. But at that time it was very important to build intrastate relations in a way that would make it possible to retain equality of religious people and atheists before the law and at the same time to firmly establish Orthodoxy and the "popular spirit" in the state, which was actually the purpose of the law on "freedom of conscience". It was also very important (and sorrowful) for the Church whether or not the state will retain coercion with regard to the performance of Sacraments if a person does not declare his or her secession from the Orthodox Church. It was a very vexing question because every Orthodox citizen was expected to fast, receive Holy Communion and to submit a corresponding certificate about this at the place of his or her work under the threat of discharge. This bred hypocrisy and sanctimony, which drove people to anticlericalism and atheism, doing great harm to the Church. This is precisely what Pyotr Stolypin said: "...These people [atheists.—*Ed.*] should also have been excommunicated". This warning is interesting not only in a historical perspective. Today there are grounds to give thought to all this for the following reasons.

On March 31, 1992, clergymen, scholars and public figures held a meeting in the Moscow University on the subject "Religion and Civil Accord". The discussion showed that the non-church public seriously feared restoration of the compulsory participation in Sacraments. Strange as it may seem, today, when there is no unanimity with regard to the frequency of participation in Sacraments even among members of the Church, these fears are very strong in the aforesaid group. And it is these fears and apprehensions that influence anticlerically-minded deputies, prompting them to oppose

the abolition of the decree on the separation of the Church from the state.

In view of a certain lag in the canonical elaboration of the questions relating to the current church practice, which is quite natural at all times, these issues should be given a careful consideration so as to avoid the mistakes of pre-revolutionary times. Neither participation in Sacraments, nor religious education, nor religion can be compulsory. From days of yore the Church has been living in conditions of freedom of participation of every person, therefore there is no, nor should there be, any coercion.

But how can freedom of conscience and confessional laws be combined? How can general legal norms be applied to a religious person and to an atheist? How should property and production disputes between church, state and other structures be dealt with?

I think that here, too, we can follow the advice of our fellow-countryman. Freedom of conscience is a law-guaranteed right of a private person, and the law on religions and relationships between the state and the Church is an affair of the whole state. The state is obliged to work out the necessary norms and standards of life (laws) for both religious people and atheists. But the status of religious organizations, the Church, cannot be equalized with that of individual citizens either from the legal or from the moral point of view. A religious citizen has to obey both general civil and confessional laws, whereas an atheist—only the former ones.

Our young state is developing by leaps and bounds, and the past year changed a lot. The Church's authority and the personal prestige of His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II are growing noticeably. This can be felt in all spheres of state affairs and also in personal contacts between the Patriarch and President Boris Yeltsin. The latter's presence at church solemnities becomes traditional. The President even speaks about the "need for purification" that brings him to the church. In addition to the President, other statesmen and officials also often participate in ecclesiastical life. Mutual assistance and mutual understanding can be often observed in dioceses and regions. Our contemporaries now witness a much greater spread of "churchiness" in the state and society than is envisaged by the Law on Religions adopted in 1990.

But very soon this law can become a brake to the development of relations between the Church and the state. Life is wiser than politicians, and now we can clearly see that the cautious position of law-makers, who fear a possible "Church's expansion" in state affairs of Russia without any reason, is harmful to both the Church and the state. For the church community it was clear, and there is every reason to believe that it will become clear to all, that the 1990 Law on Religions has become outdated and that

work on it should be continued. In fact, work on it is going on uninterruptedly, but how should all those involved in this work—law-makers, politicians, lawyers, and statesmen—combine wisdom, national legal experience, state interest and spiritual life of the people? Where should they look for the golden mean identified in his time by outstanding Russian man Pyotr Stolypin?

Deacon ANDREI LORGUS

"I Will Not Die Now..."

Last Years of Metropolitan Pyotr Polyansky of Krutitsy, Patriarchal Locum Tenens

The name of Metropolitan Pyotr of Krutitsy, Patriarchal Locum Tenens from 1925 to 1937, is little known not only to secular but to church people as well, even to those who study the history of the Russian Orthodox Church, for he spent 11 years in solitary confinement.

This is one of the first articles about the unknown hierarch—a new martyr and confessor, published in the church press. It is written on the basis of documents from the KGB Archives which have become accessible since the autumn of 1991. Files with the dossier of Metropolitan Pyotr are so thin that it would be impossible to give a detailed description of the more than 10-year period of his life in confinement and exile but for the 54 letters and applications written from 1928 to 1933 and addressed to representatives of state authorities, which were attached to one of the files.

* * *

Pyotr Fyodorovich Polyansky was born in 1862 in the village of Storozhevoye, Korotoyaksky Uyezd, Voronezh Gubernia, into a family of a village priest. He studied at the Theological Seminary in Voronezh and then at the Moscow Theological Academy. Having graduated with a degree of Candidate of Theology, Polyansky stayed at the Academy as second assistant of the inspector and simultaneously worked on a thesis devoted to the

Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to Timothy. For this research work called "On the Pastor's Epistles" he received a degree of Master of Theology. Before the revolution Polyansky had a post of inspector of educational establishments at the Holy Synod.

In 1920 Patriarch Tikhon offered Pyotr Fyodorovich to take monastic vows, and become bishop and his assistant in the administration of the Russian Orthodox Church. The choice of the Patriarch was not fortuitous—the Primate of the Church and official Polyansky had had friendly relations for many years and discussed church problems. It took Patriarch Tikhon much time and thorough consideration to choose assistants and, then, Locum Tenens, and Pyotr Fyodorovich who had given all his life to the service of the Church (he did not have a family) was undoubtedly worthy of such confidence.

The Patriarch's offer was made at the time of mass persecutions of the clergy and faithful of the Orthodox Church when a great number of names of bishops-new martyrs were entered into the chronicle of the Local Council. Those sent by the Council to find out the circumstances of the demise of martyred hierarchs were also being killed. Brutally killed were Metropolitan Vladimir Bogoyavlensky of Kiev († 1918), Archbishop Andronik Nikolsky of Perm († 1919), Bishop Germogen Dolganov of Tobolsk

(† 1918), Archbishop Vasily Bogoyavlensky of Chernigov († 1919). At that time hierarchy meant neither respect nor comfort, but numerous hardships and sufferings. Pyotr Fyodorovich accepted the Patriarch's offer as the will of God, as the call for the service to God and the Church sent through the Patriarch.

He was 58 at the time. He lived in the Armyansky Lane in Moscow with his brother priest's relatives. On coming home Pyotr Fyodorovich told everybody about the Patriarch's offer and said: "I cannot refuse. If I refuse I shall be a traitor of the Church, but when I accept it, I know, I shall thus sign my death sentence..." His words came true.

After he took the vows with his former name and was ordained bishop of Podolsk, Vicar of the Moscow Diocese, he was arrested and sent to exile. On his return in 1923 he was elevated by Patriarch Tikhon to the dignity of archbishop, and in 1924—of metropolitan and nominated metropolitan of Krutitsy. When Archbishop Ilarion Troitsky of Vereya († 1929) was arrested Vladyka Pyotr took his place of the Patriarch's closest assistant.

In 1925, on the Feast of Annunciation, the Russian Orthodox Church lost her Primate, who had possessed the indisputable authority. On the funeral day, April 12, Metropolitan Pyotr said at the coffin of His Holiness Tikhon: "We have lost a griever and a prayer, who was a father for the young, a wise mentor for the adult, and a friend for everybody... The sun of the Church of Russia has set, may his memory live for ever."

On January 7, 1925, not long before his demise the Patriarch nominated candidates for locum tenency—Metropolitan Kirill Smirnov of Kazan († 1951), or Metropolitan Agafangel Preobrazhensky of Yaroslavl († 1928), and, in case they were unable to enter upon their duties, Metropolitan Pyotr of Krutitsy was to take up the duties of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens. In April 1925 Metropolitans Kirill and Agafangel were in exile, so Metropolitan Pyotr took up the duties of the Locum Tenens.

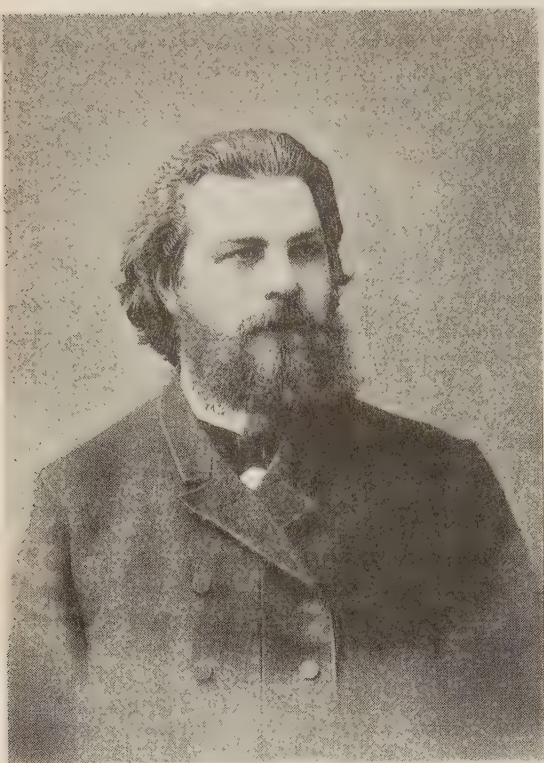
At the Bishop's Council (the last pre-war Council) which took place after the burial of Patriarch Tikhon, all 60 hierarchs participating in its work approved of the rights of Metropolitan Pyotr as the Locum Tenens. Having become the First Bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church in April

1925 he stayed at the post till the day of his martyr's death on October 10, 1937.

The Metropolitan was 62 years old then. Tall and stately, with penetrating gaze, he at once gained the love of the ordinary people flocking in multitudes to his divine services at Moscow churches and filling to capacity his small reception-room of a two-storey building in Korolenko Street, in Sokolniki, housing the Moscow Patriarchate then. "He was such a generous, gentle and delicate person that he could not allow a sharp word even with people of the lowest rank in the diocesan administration or with a village psalm-reader, no matter how rudely they might answer him", recalled many years later Protopresbyter Vasily Vinogradov, former Chairman of the Moscow Diocesan Council. But being delicate and gentle in everyday life Metropolitan Pyotr never made a compromise in matters concerning the wellbeing of the Church and the lot of Orthodoxy in Russia.

Metropolitan Pyotr Polyansky was not pleasing to the authorities. It was already several months after the election of Vladyka Pyotr as Locum Tenens that the antireligious commission at the CP(B) Central Committee under Ye. Yaroslavsky resolved that: "a) agent Tuchkov be entrusted with the hastening of the split among Patriarch Tikhon's adherents, which is beginning to take shape; b) in order to disclose monarchist designs of Pyotr, Patriarchal Locum Tenens, a number of articles compromising Pyotr be published in the *Izvestia* newspaper for which purpose materials of the recent Obnovlentsy (Renovationists) Council be used; c) comrades Stepanov, Krasikov and Tuchkov be charged to look through the articles; d) they also be charged to check the declaration against Pyotr being written by the opposition group; e) simultaneously with the publishing of the articles an investigation be initiated by the OGPU (successor of the CheKa as political police; later—NKVD, KGB—*Tr.*) against Pyotr". This programme aimed at the split and weakening of the Church, at the removal of her head (it can undoubtedly be called a state programme) was being cruelly and consistently exercised all through the 1920s and 30s.

Together with the post of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens Metropolitan Pyotr took the responsibility for all the problems



P. Polyansky (late 1890s)

conciliatory policy of the Obnovlentsy Synod: "Before the appearance of the appeal of Pyotr of Krutitsy this group entertained a hope that it would influence bishops and try to shift them from their irreconcilable stand. But as soon as Pyotr's appeal was issued they started speaking a different tongue and drew down their flag... the same thing happened to Tikhon's laymen".

Obnovlentsy complained that "in a number of dioceses the irreconcilable line of Tikhon's adherents coming from Krutitsy manifested itself in a refusal even to talk about church reconciliation. Tikhon's bishops of this type either kept silent, or expressed their distinctly negative and hostile attitude and were afraid to maintain any kind of relations with representatives of the Synod; evidently they fulfilled the instructions of their heads; there were some dioceses where we, so to say, succeeded in 'starting a conversation' with Tikhonovites, however, these conversations ended in the same irreconcilability".

In answer to the appeal of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens Soviet newspapers began accusing him of counter-revolutionary activity. At the Obnovlentsy Council Aleksandr Vvedensky read out a false document accusing the Locum Tenens of connections with foreign countries (an accusation quite enough for an arrest at that time).

Meanwhile the OGPU continued the negotiations with the Locum Tenens on the legalization of the church administration started under Patriarch Tikhon. Conditions of the legalization were as follows: 1) issuing of a declaration calling the faithful to loyalty to the Soviet power; 2) removal of archpriests objectionable to the authorities and 3) condemnation of foreign bishops. Metropolitan Pyotr, as Patriarch Tikhon before him, did not accept these conditions. Then the OGPU agent Tuchkov (chief of the OGPU department No. 6 and vice-chairman of the antireligious commission at the CP[B] Central Committee) started looking for an Orthodox hierarchy ready to seize church power and be an obedient weapon in the hands of the Soviet authority. Archbishop Grigory Yatskovsky of Yekaterinburg († 1932) turned out to be such a person and Tuchkov promised him his support at the registration of a new church administration.

the Church was facing. At that time a Second Obnovlentsy Council was to begin its work. Obnovlentsy offered all the Orthodox reconciliation and participation in the Council. Some Orthodox pastors considered this offer as acceptable and began negotiations with Obnovlentsy. The appeal of the new Patriarchal Locum Tenens of July 28, 1925, to archpastors, pastors and all children of the Russian Orthodox Church, stressing that the only way of reconciliation was repentance of Obnovlentsy and their reunion with the Church, strengthened all the vacillating and poor-spirited. Obnovlentsy wrote: "...Metropolitan Pyotr's appeal has defined the line of conduct of adherents of the Old Church... The tone of the Metropolitan of Krutitsy has shown the stand of the Old Church adherents all over the front line and only variants of one and the same policy would be possible in the future. At that, in provinces it would be easy simply to refer to the centre, and that is what we actually see..." The article cited the example of a "left group" of clergy from the Leningrad Diocese which, before the Patriarchal Locum Tenens's appeal came out, had been inclined to meet the

The inevitability of the Locum Tenens's arrest was becoming more and more evident. On December 6, 1925, Vladyka wrote the following direction: "If it is found to be impossible for me for some reason to fulfil the duties of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens I temporarily entrust His Eminence Metropolitan Sergy of Nizhni Novgorod with these duties. In case this metropolitan will be devoid of a possibility to perform these duties, His Eminence Mikhail, Exarch to All the Ukraine will temporarily take up the duties of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, or His Eminence Archbishop Iosif of Rostov, if Metropolitan Mikhail will be devoid of a possibility to fulfil my direction."

This step was prompted by the anxiety about the lot of the Russian Orthodox Church, by the desire to save her from anarchy, splits and seizure of church power by groups of mercenary-minded persons which always led to the break with canons and traditions of Orthodoxy. Several days after this direction had been written Metropolitan Pyotr was arrested. The arrest of the head of the Church untied schismatics' hands and made the authorities believe that the complete defeat of the Orthodox Church was imminent.

On December 22, 1925, a group of 9 bishops with Archbishop Grigory of Yekaterinburg at the head gathered together in Moscow. They declared that the activity of Patriarchal Locum Tenens Pyotr had been counter-revolutionary and that with his arrest the Church, devoid of administration, had to form a Higher Temporary Church Council (HTCC). The information on the formation of HTCC was published in the *Izvestia* newspaper on January 7, 1925. On January 14 Metropolitan Sergy Stragorodsky († 1944) sent Archbishop Grigory a letter demanding explanations of the arbitrariness committed. Vladyka Grigory could give no perspicuous explanation as to canonicity of his actions and Metropolitan Sergy announced his church activity (ordinations, nominations, awards, directions) invalid beginning from December 22, 1925. With the declaration of Metropolitan Sergy as Assistant Locum Tenens the attempts to form HTCC lost all canonical basis.

However, Tuchkov did not lose hope in his agreement with Vladyka Grigory. He suggested that the archbishop meet with Metropolitan Pyotr and try to



P. Polyansky (sitting on the right) among his near and dear ones. Photo made presumably in Kiev in the beginning of the 20th century

obtain his consent to the establishment of HTCC. Archbishop Grigory wrote a report to the Patriarchal Locum Tenens where it was said that his arrest had brought discord to the Russian Orthodox Church which could end in a split, that Metropolitan Sergy could not leave Nizhni Novgorod for Moscow to administer church affairs, that Metropolitan Mikhail Yermakov († 1929) refused to perform the duties of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens and that Archbishop Iosif Petrovykh could not take up these duties being absolutely unknown. Archbishop Grigory suggested himself and his three adherents as candidates for locum tenency.

Possessing no information about the real state of things in the Church, worrying about the administration of the Church, fearing the anarchy and discord, Metropolitan Pyotr appended instructions on the report of Archbishop Grigory entrusting a board of three archpastors, including Archbishop Nikolai Dobronravov of Vladimir († 1937) and Archbishop Dimitry Belikov of Tomsk known for the strength of spirit and loyalty to



Metropolitan Pyotr (Polyansky) of Krutitsy and Kolomna. 1924 photo

the Church, with the duties of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens. He excluded from the list candidates suggested by Archbishop Grigory ordering them to return to their dioceses.

The OGPU agents Tuchkov and Kazansky participating in the negotiations passed by the fact that Archbishop Nikolai was then kept in the same prison with Metropolitan Pyotr in silence. Besides they told the Vladyka that Archbishop Dimitry had sent a telegram (it was faked) that he would arrive from Tomsk without fail while Archbishop Dimitry knew nothing at all about the negotiations. The Vladyka suspected that things were not as they were being presented to him by the OGPU investigators with the silent consent of Archbishop Grigory but being in isolation he could not find out the truth. After a long consideration Vladyka Pyotr asked to include in the board Metropolitan Arseny Stadnitsky († 1936), wrote a telegram to him and gave it to Tuchkov, but the latter did not send it.

All the years he spent in confinement Metropolitan Pyotr was being tormented by the thought that his actions could

lead to an aggravation of the situation in the Church. Worry about the correctness of his decisions on the formation of the board, on nominations of archpastors, general vagueness, absence of information on the real state of things in church administration were telling on the health of the Vladyka, strong and enduring by nature. After the meeting with Archbishop Grigory and Tuchkov he fell seriously ill and was placed in the prison hospital with a nervous breakdown.

Meanwhile Metropolitan Agafangel, candidate to the post of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens was permitted by the authorities to return to Yaroslavl from exile. In the Perm prison he met with Tuchkov. The latter told the Metropolitan about the difficult situation in the Russian Orthodox Church which was being aggravated by the struggle for power between Archbishop Grigory, heading the HTCC, and Metropolitan Sergy and suggested that Metropolitan Agafangel, as a second candidate for locum tenency and the oldest hierarch of great authority, "in order to establish peace in the Church" should take the administration of the Church as Patriarchal Locum Tenens in his hands and begin negotiations with the government about the registration of the church administration. Tuchkov offered the Metropolitan all kind of support. The Vladyka believed him and, without trying to find out the truth and Metropolitan Pyotr's point of view on this serious matter, he wrote an appeal on April 18, 1926, on his assumption of the duties of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, which he sent to Metropolitan Sergy with a covering letter. Metropolitan Sergy asked Tuchkov for a permission to exchange letters with Locum Tenens Pyotr in connection with the situation at hand. Realizing very well what a discord could now be kindled Tuchkov immediately handed Metropolitan Sergy's letter to Metropolitan Pyotr and offered him the legalization of the church administration under the leadership of Metropolitan Agafangel in exchange for giving up the post of Locum Tenens. He also promised Metropolitan Pyotr to release him from prison and give him a possibility to leave for the Caucasus or the Crimea for medical treatment.

In spite of the fact that Metropolitan Sergy in his letter warned him that

Tuchkov's words should be treated with caution, the Vladyka, in his letter of May 22 to Metropolitan Agafangel, welcomed his resoluteness to take over the duties of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, planning to finally resolve this matter on Metropolitan Kirill's return from exile the term of which was expiring. But Metropolitan Kirill did not return and then in his letter of June 9 the Vladyka confirmed the handing over of the right of locum tenency. However, for fear of being cheated, he wrote in the document on handing over the right of locum tenency: "In case of the refusal of Metropolitan Agafangel to take over power or of the impossibility to exercise administration, the rights and duties of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens be returned to me and those of the Assistant Locum Tenens—to Metropolitan Sergy". Tuchkov knew that the day before Metropolitan Agafangel had categorically refused to take the post of Locum Tenens but he kept silent. Several days later Metropolitan Pyotr received a letter from Vladyka Agafangel with the refusal and was transferred to Suzdal, to a political convicts prison, where he was kept in solitary confinement and knew nothing about what was going on outside the prison walls.

Soon Tuchkov visited Metropolitan Pyotr with a new proposal: to institute an Orthodox Synod with an obligatory entry of Archbishop Grigory into the list of its members. Nothing was said as to whether Metropolitan Pyotr himself would participate in its meetings. Tuchkov only mentioned in a derisive tone that, if necessary, members of the Synod could come to the Suzdal prison and hold their meetings there. Tuchkov also suggested that Metropolitan Sergy be deprived of his right as Assistant Locum Tenens and transferred to the Krasnoyarsk Diocese. The agent tried to set the Vladyka against his assistant blaming him for intrigues. Later Metropolitan Pyotr wrote to the OGPU Chairman Menzhynsky: "For Metropolitan Sergy, one of the most distinguished, educated and authoritative hierarchs, whom the latter treated with respect, and to whom the flock headed by him expressed its enthusiastic sympathy, the suggested measure would be an infringement upon his dignity and an unheard-of insult... It would be beyond all limits of justice. As far as Archbishop Grigory is concerned, I must say that

a hierarch devoid of his see and defrocked cannot be a member of the Synod."

On November 5, 1925, almost a year after his arrest, Metropolitan Pyotr was sentenced to three years of exile and in December transported under guard to Tobolsk. Only now, having left the prison, did he find out the real state of things in the Church of Russia and on January 1, 1927, in the Perm prison he wrote an appeal in which he abolished the board, confirmed the ban from service for Archbishop Grigory and his adherents and informed about Metropolitan Agafangel's decision to refuse to take up the duties of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens.

On January 21 in the Yekaterinburg prison Vladyka Pyotr was visited by Archbishop Grigory. The Metropolitan confirmed that he was out of prayerful and canonical communion with Grigory and that the discord set by the latter and his adherents in the Church could not be tolerated. Vladyka Pyotr managed to pass his appeal outside the walls of the prison and it became widely known.

In February 1927 Metropolitan Pyotr arrived in the village of Abalazh, the place of his exile. The authorities ordered him to settle on the territory of the closed-down Abalak Monastery. While the room near the village Soviet he was to live in was under repair the Vladyka lived in the village. He comported himself with caution realizing very well that every word of his could be turned by the OGPU against him. Sister Yevgenia Manezhnykh of St. Ioann's Convent helped him to keep house but the greater part of the work in the house the Vladyka carried out himself: stoked the stove, cooked, tidied up his room. However, he did not stay there long. The Metropolitan's appeal written in the Perm prison and addresses to the Orthodox flock scared the authorities and in the beginning of April he was sent to the Tobolsk prison.

On July 1927, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) passed a resolution on the case of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens. The text of this resolution is still unknown to us but judging by the fact that later on, passing the sentence upon the metropolitan, the OGPU referred to this resolution, it recommended imprisonment for life. The Vladyka was exiled now to the polar region of the Ob River, 200 versts from the town

of Obdorsk, to the village of Khe.

In the same village there lived Bishop Vasily Belyaev. The term of his exile was expiring in January 1929, but the OGPU set him free unexpectedly. Saying good-bye to Bishop Vasily Vladyka Pyotr asked him to tell his assistant, Metropolitan Sergy, that he had read the declaration of the then instituted Orthodox Synod and was quite satisfied with it. He also said that the declaration was timely, but that his approval did not concern several passages which he neither favoured nor criticized.

In exile Vladyka Pyotr lived in an atmosphere of hostility on the part of the local clergy. Priests of Obdorsk, Abalak and of the village of Khe were Obnovlentsy. The Patriarchal Locum Tenens did not attend services at the Obnovlentsy churches and the faithful not very numerous in those places also stopped going to these churches after his example.

The term of Metropolitan Pyotr's three-year exile was expiring in 1928 but by the decision of the OGPU Special Council of May 11, 1928, the term was prolonged for two more years. The Vladyka's health was getting worse, the climate, especially winter months, was too hard for him. He wrote to the OGPU and All-Russian Central Executive Committee: "My further stay in this hard climate considering my rapidly developing diseases (lung emphysema, myocarditis, chronic laryngitis, etc.) and absence of means of their treatment is tantamount to dooming me to death". But this application was left without notice. In severe frosts the Vladyka suffered from short breath and could hardly move because of rheumatic pains, but his second application for a change of place of his exile was not considered. In March 1929 the OGPU made a search in his room looking for correspondence but found nothing. Well aware of the OGPU captiousness the Metropolitan did not keep letters.

Not far from Obdorsk, in Surgut, living in exile was Professor Ivan Popov, one of the outstanding experts in patristics, an old acquaintance of Metropolitan Pyotr, with whom he corresponded. Several times Professor Popov sent money to the Vladyka but when he wrote to him that the money had been sent through him by Metropolitan Sergy, Vladyka Pyotr became very much upset: why not

send him money openly? After all he, the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, was in exile not for political crimes but for his loyalty to the Orthodox Church. The Vladyka asked to tell Metropolitan Sergy that he was in no need of anything and that no more money should be sent him. However, these personal matters had no influence whatever on church life.

In summer 1929 Bishop Damaskin Tsedrik († 1943) sent a messenger to Metropolitan Pyotr. The messenger brought with him a number of documents on church events that had taken place after the publication of the 1927 Declaration. The picture the documents showed was alarming: the break-up of church peace, withdrawal of a number of hierarchs from the administrative subordination to Metropolitan Sergy which was fraught with new splits. In December 1929 Vladyka Pyotr wrote to his assistant that he had got information about discord and divisions in the Church, that Metropolitan Sergy was exceeding the authority placed with him and asked the Metropolitan to put an end to all this and explain to the clergy and laity that the Church was not involved in political activity and that it was not her duty to censure or encourage the Soviet power.

The Patriarchal Locum Tenens had been waiting for an answer to his letter from Metropolitan Sergy for half a year and having not received it published his letter in summer 1930. This step scared the authorities. On August 17, 1930, the OGPU arrested the Vladyka, who by that time was to stay in exile for four months only. Before his departure he gave out all his belongings to the poor. Having spent three months in the Tobolsk prison the Metropolitan was transferred to Yekaterinburg where he was visited by the OGPU agent I. Polyansky who suggested that the Vladyka should give up locum tenency. Otherwise a new exile or a two-year term of imprisonment awaited him.

It was hard to hear the threats, but his abdication would immediately throw doubt upon the rights of Metropolitan Sergy and the Church would be left without the legitimate head. The consequences of this step were easy to foretell: struggle for the church power and new splits. Vladyka Pyotr knew very well that church splits could not

be surmounted in the earthly life, that propagation of schism would not be pardoned by one's personal piety in life, would not be whitewashed by a martyr's blood.

In his application to Chairman Menzhinsky of March 27, 1931, explaining the reasons of not accepting the OGPU offer Metropolitan Pyotr wrote: "First of all I would break the established order according to which the Patriarchal Locum Tenens stays in his post till the convocation of the Local Council. The Council convoked without the sanction of the Locum Tenens will be regarded as uncanonical and its decisions—invalid... Then, my dismissal must entail the dismissal of my assistant, Metropolitan Sergy. I cannot treat this circumstance indifferently. Our simultaneous withdrawal will not guarantee church life against possible conflicts and evidently I will be to blame for that. That is why in this case our joint discussion is needed as well as a joint settlement of questions concerning my letter to Metropolitan Sergy of December 1929. Finally, my direction, sent from prison, will undoubtedly arise talk, conjectures, will be regarded as the one made under compulsion, all kinds of undesirable conclusions will be made... I can frankly say that I do not care about myself: not many days of my life are left and, it seems to me, I have already lost an interest in life changing prisons and places of exile for more than eight years all in all. I am only afraid to fail to do my duty and provoke discord among the faithful by random directions and actions".

In November 1930 the OGPU again instituted legal proceedings against the Patriarchal Locum Tenens accusing him of carrying on in exile "the defeatist agitation among the surrounding population, speaking of the coming war and the fall of the Soviet power, of the necessity to fight with the latter and trying to use the Church to organize the struggle against the Soviet power". The chief of the Tobolsk OGPU department received a message informing him that an action had been brought against the Metropolitan and that the Tobolsk OGPU department was to "find evidence exposing Pyotr Polyansky's connections with church officials and his attempts to direct anti-Soviet activity of the Church... take notice of his connections with the Tobolsk clergy... prove by testimony all

facts of the anti-Soviet agitation on the part of Polyansky, especially the facts of raising the believers to active struggle against the Obnovlentsy".

On November 30 the Locum Tenens was subjected to interrogation. To questions put to him he answered the following: "Being in exile in the north of the Tobolsk Region I did not interfere in the administration of the Church. There was only one case when I wrote a letter to Metropolitan Sergy where I informed him about the rumours which had reached me that discord and divisions were taking place in the Church because he exceeded church authority he was entrusted with and asked him to put an end to it... And when in Abalak an exiled priest turned to me with a suggestion, coming from Tobolsk probably, to award some clergymen, I told him that a local archpriest should write to me on this matter. For my part I meant to submit it to Metropolitan Sergy with my point of view."

On December 12 the Metropolitan was called to investigator Kostin who read an indictment to the Vladyka and suggested that he answered several questions. Realizing the importance of his answers the Vladyka wrote them with his own hand: "I do not consider myself guilty of the accusations brought against me. I was not engaged in the defeatist agitation in exile... And I have never been the enemy of the Soviet power. I do recognize the Soviet power and obey its directions."

On January 14 the OGPU investigator Kostin told the Vladyka about the termination of the investigation and asked him whether he wanted to add something to his evidence. The Metropolitan wrote: "I positively deny my participation in the actions of which they want to accuse me... of the absurd, childishly naive actions... I know that my conscience is clear and it makes me ask for the Soviet justice to be displayed towards me, taking into consideration my old age burdened with diseases and a long-term exile... It should also be taken into consideration that the counter-revolutionary activity is mentioned as having taken place four years ago while until recently no one of the authorities has reproached me with it." Never in the 11 years of his trials did the Metropolitan plead guilty of the accusations brought against him, he knew that to allow himself a weakness and confirm the

calumny meant to harm the Russian Church.

The investigation was over, and at the age of 69 the Metropolitan again found himself in solitary confinement. His once strong health was ruined by four years of prison and exile. As if hoping that his death was near the authorities created unbearable conditions for the Vladyka's life in prison. Almost a year of his confinement in Yekaterinburg passed without parcels, visits, practically without walks. After each meal the Vladyka experienced severe pain in his stomach which finally developed into a gastric catarrh. At night, especially after midnight asthmatic fits were becoming more and more frequent. These fits brought unbearable sufferings. He fainted and lay on the floor until he regained consciousness. Sometimes the fits were so lingering that a warder came in, helped the elderly Metropolitan up and put him on the coach. Every night the Vladyka fell asleep wondering whether he would wake up the next day.

In late April-early May agent Tuchkov appeared unexpectedly in the Patriarchal Locum Tenens's cell. He told the Metropolitan that this time he did not come to insist on the Vladyka's renouncement of locum tenency. The Metropolitan breathed with relief. The talk did not overstep the limits of synodal problems concerning nominations. The parting was friendly and the Vladyka calmed down. The following day Tuchkov came again with investigator Kostin. The Metropolitan awaited the continuation of the previous day's theme, however, Tuchkov did not even mention it. He threatened the Locum Tenens with a new term of imprisonment and told him that the only way out of the situation was to become an OGPU informer.

The situation was hopeless. The Vladyka said something indefinite but recollected himself in time. He felt that a great danger was threatening his soul. Having lost his usual self-control and kindness towards his tormentors Metropolitan Pyotr used sharp words in answering Tuchkov for which he apologized later. All the years spent in solitary confinement he was suppressing bad thoughts and feelings and never showed either by deed or by word his hostility to or dislike for anybody.

On Tuchkov's departure the starets' soul was seized by confusion and not less than

two hours passed before he, having prayed, was able to calm down and size up the situation. Of course it was out of the question to cooperate with the OGPU and he had to state it definitely. The same day the Vladyka asked the warder to call investigator Kostin but the latter was not to be found in the prison. The next day the Metropolitan asked for a telegram to be sent to Tuchkov and wrote a letter in which he politely but resolutely rejected the proposal. The letter read: "If I were just a citizen P. F., my path would be different but as the Primate of the Church I must not seek my way. Otherwise it would be craftiness speaking in the church language. The state of my health also prevents me from plunging into this work...."

In his letter to Menzhynsky of May 25, 1931, Vladyka Pyotr formulated his refusal in a more definite way: "The ruined health and old age prevent me from taking the duties of an informer seriously and with consideration... And it goes without saying that this kind of occupation is incompatible with my rank and contrary to my nature."

In one of his letters the Vladyka wrote: "Because of our weakness we more or less recede from the ideal, from the truth which is commanded to Christians. But it is important not to be preoccupied with the earthly matters and for the sake of them kill furiously the truth and lose the way of the truth. In such a case it is better to renounce God completely... In this work I would have to face two absolutely opposite principles—the Christian and revolutionary ones. The basis of the first principle is love of one's neighbour, forgiveness, fraternity, humility; the basis of the second principle is: the aim justifies the means—class struggle, devastation and the like. Sticking to the second principle one takes the road of revolution, thrusts himself upon the struggle and thus rejects the true Christian Creed and ruins not only its foundations—the idea of love and others, but also the principles of the confession of faith. There is no need to say in what way this dilemma—the love of one's neighbour and class struggle, should be solved by the faithful, a real and not a mercenary pastor of the Church in particular. Such a person could hardly find peace in life if he were tempted by the contradictions mentioned."

Metropolitan Pyotr took Tuchkov's visit so hard that several days after it he was paralyzed: he lost the use of his right

arm and leg. With time his arm regained its function but his leg did not. Nine months had passed since his arrest, the accusation as per article 58 brought against him was absurd, he was not called for interrogations. To the Vladyka's question about the accusation the investigator only waved away. He said: "This accusation as per article 58 is meaningless for it is not based on facts."

Nevertheless there was no intention to free the Patriarchal Locum Tenens. On May 25, 1931, he wrote to Menzhinsky: "At present I am so exhausted physically that I can hardly move, stand or even talk. Asthmatic fits sometimes simultaneous with fainting fits have become more frequent and each time they pass I feel completely exhausted and as if absent of mind. The lack of vital necessities is too great and all my thoughts are fixed upon the only question: when my prison and exile trials will be over at last... Since I was arrested I have never seen the sun. Sitting in a cell has become a real feat of mine. My twenty-minute walks (sitting at the door of a corridor leading to a stone basement to be exact) according to the schedule of the prison life usually take place between 10 and 11.30 p. m. and even then with breaks. Isolation, depriving me of the right to correspond with my relatives and receive food from my friends are also oppressing... I insist on the fact that I have never engaged in counter-revolution and have never committed any anti-governmental acts... In Your person I turn to the Soviet justice and earnestly request You to liberate me from prison and return me to my permanent place of residence where I could receive a serious treatment from professors, who used to treat me before, and have communion with hierarchs—my assistant and others." He did not receive any answer to this as well as to other letters.

On July 23, 1931, the OGPU Board heard out the Metropolitan's "case" and resolved that "Polyansky Pyotr Fyodorovich be sentenced to imprisonment in a concentration camp for a term of five years counting from the day of the passing of the sentence [i. e., without including the year spent in solitary confinement] for the stubborn struggle against the Soviet power and counter-revolutionary activity".

Immediately after the sentence was passed the OGPU agents Agranov and Tuchkov sent a report to the Yekaterinburg prison administration with a recommenda-

tion to keep the Metropolitan in an isolation ward under guard. The sentence was read out to the Vladyka but he never got to know the contents of the secret report.

Having read the sentence to the Metropolitan investigator Kostin advised the Vladyka to repent and write an application about his membership in the Union of Russian People "otherwise you will have to do a long term". "I have not only ever participated in such an organization, I have never heard that such an organization existed in the Soviet Union," was the Metropolitan's response. "Then you will have to repent for your participation in an anti-Soviet organization," insisted Kostin. "But I have not participated in such organizations," answered the Vladyka.

With time the hope for the liberation was fading. He was perplexed by the fact that the graveness of the penalty did not at all correspond to the sentence. Having lost all hope to receive any answer to his letters concerning the easing of his lot the Vladyka wrote to Tuchkov: "Frankly speaking I am not afraid of death, but I wish I did not die in prison where only the walls will be witnesses of my death... Treat me according to the sentence... send me to the concentration camp... no matter how hard it is there it will be nonetheless incomparably easier than in this solitary confinement."

In the summer of 1933 walks in the common yard were changed for Metropolitan Pyotr for walks in a separate small yard looking like a damp basement on the bottom of which there always were pools of rain water and the air was filled with miasma from the near-by earth closet. When the Vladyka saw the place he had an asthmatic fit and could hardly reach his cell afraid of falling down. Soon the prison administration informed him that the money the Vladyka had had on his account was through and that he would receive no more additional portions of food. The authorities not only intended to worsen the living conditions of the old and sick man but also did everything possible to conceal the lot of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens. Even the smallest details were considered: the near-by cell was turned into the reception room of the prison doctor's assistant who was strictly forbidden to communicate with the Metropolitan in any way or render him medical aid. The Vladyka's numerous requests to get in touch with the local hierarch were being rejected.

And again the starets wrote to the authorities, disclosing two themes—the endlessness of his sufferings and his responsibilities before the Church. In his letter to the OGPU Board of August 1933 he wrote: “Practically speaking, I am not interested in the locum tenency personally, on the contrary I constantly feel the weight of its bondage. But I must consider the fact that the decision of this problem does not depend on my initiative and cannot be an act of my personal will. By my rank I am inseparably linked with spiritual interests and the will of the entire Local Church. Thus, the question of locum tenency, being not a personal one, cannot be solved personally, otherwise I would be a traitor of the Holy Church. By the way, in the act of my nomination it is mentioned that I am obliged not to deviate from fulfilling the will of Patriarch Tikhon and, therefore, the will of the hierarchs who signed the act... as well as the will of the clergy and the faithful who have been in prayerful communion with me for more than eight years.”

Months went by and there were no changes for the better in the starets' position. On the contrary, his conditions were becoming more strict: he was transferred to the Verkhneuralsk special purpose prison and placed in solitary confinement. Instead of his name he was given a number—114, so that nobody could find out about the lot of the Locum Tenens. The warders were prohibited to take the Metropolitan to places where he could see other people. The Vladyka was permitted to use the prison library but soon he read through all books worthy of attention he could find there, some of them even twice or thrice.

The term of Metropolitan Pyotr's imprisonment was to be over on July 23, 1936, but he was not liberated because two weeks before the date a session of the Special Meeting at the NKVD of the USSR had taken place, which prolonged the term of the Metropolitan's imprisonment for three more years. VTsIK Presidium approved the decision.

“And, nevertheless, I will not die now,” said the Metropolitan on hearing the sentence. From that day on the conditions of his life in the prison became even more strict. He could see nobody except for the chief of the prison and his assistant. By that time official correspondence must have been prohibited to him. On August 2, during the evening rounds, Metropolitan

Pyotr asked the chief of the prison Artemyev to give him a few minutes of attention. He said that he was the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, that he had been imprisoned for that and that it was unjust to keep in prison an innocent person seeking after his death. Besides, he said, it made no difference because he had already nominated his three assistants and each of them, in their turn, had nominated assistants, so there would be enough assistants for a thousand years. The following day Artemyev wrote a report on which agent Yakovlev appended the following instructions: “To be filed... It must be taken into consideration that convict 114 has made an attempt to establish a connection with the outer world and tried to use for this purpose the now dismissed prison doctor charging the latter to hand an icon to Metropolitan Sergy....”

Then Artemyev and Yakovlev wrote the following report: “Serving his sentence in the Verkhneuralsk prison he has proved to be an irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet state, calumniates the existing state system blaming it of ‘persecutions of the Church’. Calumniously blames the NKVD agencies of a partial attitude towards him... Made an attempt to establish a connection with the outer world using for the purpose the medical personnel of the prison as a result of which received a prosphora from the clergy of Verkhneuralsk as a greeting....”

These “accusations” were enough for a capital punishment. They were undoubtedly a formal justification of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens's assassination. On October 2, 1937, the NKVD troika (a three-member court) of the Chelyabinsk Region sentenced Metropolitan Pyotr of Krutitsy to be shot and on October 10 at 4 p. m. the sentence was executed.

Metropolitan Sergy Stragorodsky had been Patriarchal Locum Tenens for nine months already.

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Hieromonk DAMASKIN

Being brought forward here is a major archive document—
the message
of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, Metropolitan Pyotr of Krutitsy
to archpastors, pastors and all faithful children
of the Russian Orthodox Church
of June 28, 1925:

By the Grace of God Patriarchal Locum Tenens, Metropolitan of Krutitsy, humble Pyotr
To the beloved in Christ archpastors, pastors and all faithful children of the Russian
Orthodox Church

Grace be unto you and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is over three months now that the Lord has summoned to His Mansions the Helmsman of the Russian Church, our blessed Father the saintly Patriarch Tikhon. It is a grievous loss for us especially at a time when the ship of the Church is to be piloted to a quiet harbour through the surging sea of life.

The Orthodox Church of Christ has many enemies. They have now intensified their activity against Orthodoxy. The Catholics, by introducing our liturgical order, pervert the faithful to Uniatism, particularly in Western territories, Orthodox of yore, and thus divert the efforts of the Orthodox Church from a much more urgent task of fighting atheism.

The so-called Evangelists or Baptists, as well as other sectarians, take every opportunity to preach their faith and captivate trusting souls by a false sanctity of their life and promises of material aid. And the poor, weak Orthodox soul, unable fully to comprehend the falsity of sectarian teachings, admiring the inspiration of their preachers, and sometimes tempted by material boons, drinks in the poison of spiritual evil and perishes, splitting from the Holy Orthodox faith... And it happens when the wave of atheism is flooding all social strata.

To our great regret, at God's will, there has been a split inside the Church. According to the word of God, *they went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us* (1 Jn. 2. 19). These are the so-called Living Church, Renovationists, Regenerators, the Self-professed, etc. By wilfully installing their own hierarchs and introducing their own order of church life in Russia proper, as well as the Ukraine and other places, they split from the one Body of Christ, i. e., from His Holy Orthodox Church, and thus disturb the Orthodox people. However, the words of the Lord are immutable: the things the Lord has hidden from the wise and prudent, He has revealed unto babes (Lk. 10. 21). The Orthodox people, in the simplicity of their hearts, perceived the inner unrighteousness of the Renovationists' movement and the danger involved. Wherever possible they reject it with justified indignation and abstain from visiting the Renovationists' churches.

Today the so-called Renovationists more and more often speak of uniting with us. They hold meetings in towns and regions and invite Orthodox clergymen and laymen to discuss together the question of uniting with us and to prepare for the convocation this autumn of their pseudocouncil. But one should well remember that, according to canon rules of the Ecumenical Church, any meeting arbitrarily convened, such as the 1923 meeting of the Living Church, is unlawful. Therefore, canonical rules ban Orthodox Christians from attending such meetings and, the more so, to elect representatives to attend them. Art. 20 of the Antiochene Council says that no one is to be allowed to convene councils at will, without the bishops the metropolies are entrusted with. The Holy Church of God considers lawful and canonical only what has the blessings of the Church Authority installed by God and acting by right of succession from the time of the Apostles. Everything arbitrarily done, everything done by the Renovationists outside the will of His Holiness the Patriarch sleeping in the Lord, and everything being done without the blessing of our humble self—Patriarchal Locum Tenens acting jointly with the lawful Orthodox hierarchy—all that has no validity according to the canons of the Holy Church (Apostolic Canons 34 and 39), for the true Church is one, and the grace of the Holy Spirit abiding in her is one: there cannot be two Churches and two graces. *There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one*

faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all (Eph. 4. 4-6).

It is not of uniting with the Orthodox Church the so-called Renovationists should think; they should do penance for their delusions. Their main delusions are: the wilful separation from the lawful hierarchy and its head, His Holiness the Patriarch, in an attempt to renovate the Church of Christ through self-created teaching (*The Living Church*, Nos. 1-11), distortion of the church rules established by the Ecumenical Councils (Decisions of the pseudocouncil of May 4, 1923), rejection of the authority of the Patriarch conciliarly established and recognized by all Eastern Orthodox Patriarchs. Thus, they rejected, and, moreover condemned at their pseudocouncil, everything recognized by the entire Orthodoxy. Contrary to the canons of the Holy Apostles, to the Ecumenical Councils and the Holy Fathers (Apostolic Canons 17 and 18, Art. 3, 12, 48 of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, Item 12 of the Rule by St. Basil the Great), they allow bishops to marry and clergymen to conclude a second marriage, i. e., violate the law accepted by the entire Ecumenical Orthodox Church, the law that can be changed solely by an Ecumenical Council. So they break with the Holy Tradition of the Church and are to be conciliarly condemned for violating it (Dogmatic Decisions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council). Even the initiators of the Renovanionist movement (Bishop Antonin et al.) have recognized the anti-canonical nature of their delusions, and openly and repeatedly admit it in their sermons and appeals.

It is possible for the Renovanionists to join the Holy Orthodox Church only on one condition: if each of them separately renounces his delusions and repent publicly for breaking with the Church. And we are incessantly offering up prayers to the Lord—may He bring back them that are out of the way to the bosom of the Holy Orthodox Church.

God-wise archpastors pleasing unto the Lord, honourable pastors and all beloved Orthodox Christians. At a time so crucial for church life, trusting in the solicitude of Divine Providence, let us abide in the bond of peace and love for each other, let us be one and help one another to protect our Orthodox faith, showing examples of good living, love, humility, meekness and obedience to the civil authorities, according to the Lord's commandments (Mk. 12. 17; Rom. 13. 1; Acts 4. 18-19), mindful of the fact that the Church of Christ leads the faithful to the spiritual and moral perfection and there is no place in her for political struggle, so that the authorities may see it and the Spirit of God may speak through them in favour of the Holy Church (1 Pet. 2. 12-14).

Let us offer up zealous prayers to the Merciful Lord that He may confirm our Russian Church in Orthodoxy.

"O Lord, do Thou confirm the Church, which Thou hast purchased with Thy precious blood" (St. Cosmas of Maiuma, Irmos 3, the Meeting of Our Lord).

Church and Army

Regimental Chaplain

"We all ask Thou, the One Lord and King, for Thy help. Thou hast granted us victories, with Thy name we conquer the foe, from Thou we expect good estate now and ever after..."

Prayer of Emperor Constantine the Great

Night had never seemed so long. And it was not because the dense December dusk on the Danube fell too early and the light of dawn had to struggle through low leaden clouds. Suvorov had spent all the day with the troops, and at every step, as a magic invocation, he heard the words "by storm". He had made up his mind to take Ismail by storm and no longer doubted that now, after the days spent at the city's walls, every Russian warrior was as resolute. It was not through the mechanism of army discipline that Suvorov insistently suggested the thought that "war victory is not to be gained by hands, feet, or mortal human body but by the immortal soul... and if the soul of the soldier is great, mighty, devoid of fear and is not to be damaged in battle, victory is indubitable".

Suvorov strictly forbade the troops to take up a position before the signal was given. Soldiers gathered in groups, clinging to each other to keep warm, and whiled away the time talking and whispering prayers. Probably some said prayers compiled many years ago by Suvorov himself then in command of the Suzdal Infantry Regiment.

After riding round the troops Suvorov returned to his bivouac and lied down closer to the camp-fire; but he could not sleep. The heart hammered in his breast and the lines of Commander-in-Chief Potemkin's order ran before his eyes: "We are to launch, with God's help, an assault against Ismail... You should hurry there and take the troops under your command... Trusting in the Lord and Your valour."

What could Suvorov say to His Highness who had been taking Ismail himself twenty years before? That much water had flowed under the bridges since that time and the Turkish crescent was shining in the sky

and was not going to come down, neither did the warriors of Allah intend to leave Ismail? And Suvorov sent a reply to Potemkin to Bendery: "Cannot promise anything. The Lord's wrath and His grace are the matter of Divine Providence."

The assault of the Turkish fortress has been described repeatedly and in detail, and the many hours battle might seem to be a masterly performance, a piece played by sight by Russian officers and men. However, the battle was a sum total of hundreds and thousands of single combats, when everything hinged on a fleeting moment.

...The Polotsk Infantry Regiment was part of the troops under Brigadier Orlov's command which, according to Suvorov's plan, were to attack the Tolga fortification and the moat left of the Bendery Gates. At first all was going on well. Cossacks in advance-guard had already partly overcome the obstacle when, suddenly the gates opened and janizaries rushed at them from the flank. Cossacks were falling under sabre blows. The Polotsk Regiment came to their aid. But it, too, as if stumbled against an invisible barrier. The commander, Col. Yasunsky, was badly wounded, the ranks were disorganized.

And then, over the cannonade, the roar of guns and rifle fire, the heart-rending cries of the wounded, there rose a powerful, impelling voice of a priest whose presence in the front ranks of the fighters was not at all obligatory. At the call of his conscience, Father Trofim Kutsynsky, the Polotsk Regiment chaplain, preferred to be at the spot where the blood of his spiritual children was being shed. Bullets passed him by. He was wounded in the leg when already on the fortress wall.

On the day following the capture of Ismail, the assault of which, according to Suvorov, was to be ventured "but once in one's life", there was a moleben. Accompanied with a guns' salute, it was conducted by Father Trofim Kutsynsky. In the presence of generals and staff and senior officers "Many Years" to the victors was proclaimed.

In his report to Potemkin on the capture of Ismail Suvorov wrote of Kutsynsky's feat of valour. He also sent an appeal to St. Petersburg, the capital of the empire. It read: "Father Trofim Kutsinsky, chaplain of the Polotsk Infantry Regiment, encouraging the soldiers in the fight with the adversary during the assault of Ismail, was at their head in the bitterest battle. The cross of the Lord he was carrying like a sign of victory for our warriors was pierced with two bullets. In respect of his zeal and valour, I venture to appeal for awarding him the Order of the Cross."

Doubtlessly, Suvorov meant the Order of St. George the Victorious. However, Catherine II would not violate the Statute: not a word was said in it of priests. But then, there was no legislative act of any kind at the time defining the duties of regimental chaplains. In peace time, when regiments were permanently quartered or on the move, chaplains were under diocesan administration. And if a regiment stayed in some place for two or three weeks its chaplain was to come into contact with the nearest diocese.

Field Service Regulations of 1716 mention only the post of grand-priest, who, during action, "is to be among the members of General Headquarters for fulfilling the duties of the priest of Commander-in-Chief and heading regimental chaplains".

But Catherine II did not neglect Father Trofim's valour and awarded him a pectoral cross ornamented with diamonds on the Order of St. George ribbon. On the Empress's petition the chaplain of the Polotsk Infantry Regiment was elevated to the rank of archpriest.

The feat of Father Trofim is the first evidence that has come down to us in documents and reminiscences of inordinate courage and spiritual fortitude of a chaplain. But countless is the number of those, not recorded in history, who by their zeal and labours were inconspicuously forging the spirit of the Russian army, its victories. It is hardly possible to overestimate their role in bringing up in the love of the Motherland, of the faith and the

sovereign what Kutuzov called a real treasure—the Russian soldier, whose fortitude was truly invincible.

Suvorov used to say to the soldiers: "Pray to the Lord, hero warriors, victory is His doing! The Lord leads us, He is our general." And his entire life full of asceticism, selflessness and longsuffering bespoke him to be a man of firm faith.

Suvorov highly valued the far from easy work of regimental chaplains and tried to instill into commanders the idea of close cooperation with and permanent support of representatives of the Church in the army. The usefulness of the chaplains' work is testified to by numerous facts. In peace time there were much fewer crimes, and consequently cases of corporal punishment, in units where commanders had firm contacts with clergymen. Officers sympathized with the needs of chaplains whose material status was much less stable than we might think today, and often collected money for them. Comradeship-in-arms cemented with the Orthodox faith created in many regiments of the Russian army an atmosphere of genuine trust between officers and men, inspired courage and provided for great endurance and fortitude. The trials that fell to the lot of the soldiers were shared by regimental chaplains whose pastoral word helped to endure the hardships.

* * *

...When asked what event was especially memorable to him, Father Lavrenty Sushchinsky, chaplain of the Ustyug 104th Regiment of Chasseurs, an old campaigner, would say: "1799 Swiss campaign of Suvorov, Saint Gotthard, feats of glory under Maj.-Gen. Prince Bagration."

Any Russian soldier used to and fond of the native plains would shudder remembering the hellish incessant howl of the Swiss wind, the cruel, biting blizzard whirling in a deathly dance over the soldiers' heads, the grim, shaggy mountain tops assailing them with a hail of stones. He would remember rocks smeared with blood, the blood-stained snow and thousands of corpses—Saint Gotthard. They said Suvorov ordered to dig a grave for him at the foot of the mountain. What were the words that might have impelled the tired, worn out soldiers to go forward to meet the enemy's bullets? Father Lavrenty found the words and Saint Gotthard fell. However, we would not find

the Ustyug or any other Regiment chaplain on any canvas, including the famous painting by Surikov.

One is only to read into the chronicle of the regiment to see that it was unfair. "At 5 a. m. on September 16 the regiment set out from the bivouac at the village of Burglen and, moving in advance-guard, started climbing one by one the narrow path up the steep slope of the high snow-covered Roshtok Range, and the ascent was such that the chasseurs, sturdy men with the nerves of steel, nearly fainted... Exhausted, people would stop, take breath and stumble on... Prince Bagration lost many of his chasseurs during the march..."

Father Lavrenty Sushchinsky's courage was duly assessed in the recommendation for an award: "...was permanently with the troops on the move, not falling behind an inch, for which he was awarded a skufya and a pectoral cross from His Majesty's repository decorated with diamonds". It was not the last time the chaplain of the Ustyug Regiment faced death, which is testified to by the Order of St. Vladimir, 4th Class, with a bow, a rare case at the time. Father Lavrenty received the award for the famous Schengraben operation in 1805 when he was at the unit under Bagration.

We should note that the Order of Prince St. Vladimir had the motto—"Benefit, Honour and Glory", and was considered a high officer's award.

* * *

The year of 1800 was marked by an important event in the life of the Church. Emperor Paul I was visited by an idea of separating the military clergy from the diocesan and instituting a permanent post of grand-priest. As usual, the Emperor wrote the ukaz himself and it ran as follows: "...The grand-priest to be appointed is to have under his rule all chaplains in war time and when troops are on the march, as well as in peace time, and, consequently, it is to him that the authority belongs... in all spheres, up to legal needs."

The first to head the military clergy was Archpriest P. J. Ozeretskovsky. The Holy Synod approved the appointment. The duties of chaplains took shape later, on the basis of the war and peace time practice. Thus, the head priest of the Army and Fleet was to "see to it that the truths of the Orthodox Church be confessed by clergymen and Orthodox soldiers in purity;

choose priests for the army worthy of the name in education and way of life; offer chaplains with a several years service in the army comfortable posts in fortress churches and hospitals; apply to the Synod for granting pensions and allowances to superannuated chaplains, and to the widows and children of the deceased; give orders concerning the enrolment of the children of army clergymen into diocesan schools; take under his protection chaplains' orphans..."

Grand-priests of the Russian army proved by their deeds that they were worthy of the high post. They had full control over spiritual life in the Russian armed forces and, as directed by the Emperor's ukazes, never neglected the seemingly trifling events of everyday life. Alive in each of these higher spiritual guides was a Christian staunchness, understanding of the tasks facing the Russian army, love of the neighbour.

The passages cited above are taken from the brochure sold in all bookshops and accessible to every citizen. A military man or a civilian had an opportunity to form an opinion of the activity of chaplains for he had at his disposal the list of their duties.

Unfortunately, the author of this article failed to find anything like that in the annals of the Supreme Political Department of the Soviet Army. Official duties of its chiefs are a book with seven seals, and field manuals define them only up to regimental level. Let us compare these duties with those of regimental chaplains, excluding general rules of subordination, reports, etc. "Regimental chaplains", we read, "as befits the importance and honour of the rank, should, always and under all conditions, keep to purity and good conduct, show respect for and obedience and subordination to the senior, and be an example for officers and men in all things. The duties of the regimental chaplains include: to treat lower ranks with meakness, dignity and amiability, never resorting to the commanding tones officers are prescribed to by strict discipline of military subordination; to impress on men to have Christian faith and love of the Lord and their neighbour, respect for the supreme power of the monarch... reveal the importance of the oath of allegiance and baneful consequences of violating it in earthly life and the inevitable Judgement after death; not to leave the place of service without permission,

especially during action or before a battle when they are to be with their regiments and pray and encourage and bless their spiritual children, be ready to overcome the enemy or lay down their lives for the faith and the Motherland."

Life did not stand still and demanded regimental chaplains' participation in baptisms, wedding ceremonies, funerals and many other Christian rites and services. Every regiment or battalion, and sometimes unit of the Russian army, had its heavenly patron specially revered by the soldiers. The most responsible aspect of the regimental chaplains' activity was their concern over the firmness and purity of Orthodox faith. It was to be remembered: "A man that defames our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ... or His Most Pure Mother, our Queen Ever Virgin Mary, or the Holy Cross, or the saints of God, and, in general, speaks ill of the Name of the Lord, or Holy Scripture, or the Orthodox Church, be the defamer a heterodox, is to be brought to trial."

* * *

...The early 19th century was stormy, dramatic, bloody. The strength of coalitions, states and arms, commanders' talents and martial spirit were being put to the test. The military genius of Napoleon was bewitching Europe, and only after Tilzit a certain period of calmness set in which he needed to fulfil his plan, as fantastic as it was inhuman.

The history of the Russian state did not bother the great man in the least, and assailing Russia he meant to open its last chapter. Neither was he interested in personalities mentioned by Alexander I in his appeal to the people: "May the foe encounter Pozharsky in every soldier, Minin in every citizen and Palitsyn in every clergyman." They were unknown to the French emperor. However, already after the first bitter fights on the Russian soil he was obliged to enquire what the people mentioned in the appeal were, and, after getting an answer, to conclude that the appeal found its embodiment in reality. Russian soldiers fought as if every battle was their last and died never pleading for mercy. Civilians sacrificed their homes leaving the conqueror a burnt out desert. Parish priests moved along with the army, and a man in a cassock with a crucifix in his hand was not a rare sight on a battlefield.

As we know, according to the statute,

priests were not to be awarded the Order of St. George, but in 1812 one exception was made.

...Napoleon was seeking for a decisive battle with the Russian army, and, it seemed, it would take place near Vitebsk where Barclay de Tolly made camp. But the bloody battle at Ostrovno deprived him of the hope. Already at the start of the battle Father Vasily Vasilkovsky, chaplain of the 19th Regiment of Chasseurs, aspersed the fighting banners, then the soldiers and, at the sound of the trumpet, moved together with them to meet the enemy.

In a whirl of lead raging in the sun-burnt field a figure of a man in a black cassock appeared here and there among the fighters. Father Vasily had long lost his skufia and his pectoral cross had twice been pierced with bullets. Each time a chasseur fell down wounded or dead, his eyes filled with pain. He hurried to the place and, if he had time, read a short prayer and communicated the dying. Once a grenade burst out nearby. Blood poured down his cheek but Father Vasily did not leave the battlefield. It was only after a grave contusion that he found himself in the rear. Could Napoleon, encountered with people like that, overcome Russia? He could win one or several battles, but he could never gain complete victory.

One has only to remember the moleben on the eve of the Borodino battle before the Icon of the Mother of God saved from desecration by the enemy in Smolensk to understand the determination of every Orthodox soldier to defend his Homeland to the end. In Borodino and other battles officers and men were encouraged and led by chaplains among whom were Father Miron Orleansky, chaplain of the Moscow Grenadier Regiment, and Archpriest Simeon Aleksandrov of the Ismail Household Regiment.

In Moscow, seized, and burnt down, residents who had had no chance to leave the city could hear the pastoral word of Father Mikhail Gratsinsky, chaplain of the Horse Guard Regiment. He found himself in the epicentre of the alien vandals' revelry. They would pull his beard, spit into his face, they tore off his cassock and pectoral cross and cruelly beat him. He went through torture and humiliation with staunchness and still managed, in the presence of French officers, to conduct a moleben at the domestic chapel of Gen. Glebov-Streshnev's wife for the Russian troops' victory over the foe and for driving

out the French out of Moscow. Had the conquerors known what the regimental chaplain was praying for, it would have definitely cost him his head.

But Father Mikhail did not stop at that and got permission from the French to conduct divine services at a church which escaped destruction in Myasnitskaya Street. There, on September 15, the anniversary of the coronation of Alexander I, he held a festive moleben with bell-ringing. The toll of the bells proclaimed the invincibility of the spirit and faith and the coming deliverance from the enemy. In his report to the field grand-priest Father Mikhail Gratsinsky wrote: "The entire church was washed with tears. Even the enemies, seeing the faith and zeal of the Russian people, nearly wept." After the liberation of Moscow Father Mikhail Gratsinsky became father confessor of Alexander I who personally awarded him the Order of St. Anne, 2nd Class. With this order he went along with the army up to Paris.

In the description of the battle at Maloyaroslavets, where, according to Segur, "the invasion of the world was put an end to", we again come across the name of Father Vasily Vasilkovsky, chaplain of the 19th Regiment of Chasseurs. The report of the commander of the 6th Corps, Gen. L. Dokhturov, says: "...Being in the front lines with the cross in his hands, he encouraged the soldiers with word and personal courage to slay the enemies and die fearlessly for the faith and the sovereign; he was wounded in the head in this battle."

Father Vasily was the first chaplain in the Russian army to be awarded the Order of St. George, 4th Class. Later there were another three awards of the kind. Those awarded the Cross of St. George were: Father Iov Kaminsky, chaplain of the Tobolsk Infantry Regiment who was one of the first to cross the Danube under enemy fire during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829, Archpriest Ioann Pyatibokov of the Moghilev Infantry Regiment, for a similar feat performed in 1854, and Hieromonk Ioanniky Savinov of the 45th Navy Depot, a year later. Nurse Stakhovich wrote about Hieromonk Ioanniky in a letter to her relatives from the besieged Sevastopol: "He helped us greatly bandaging the wounded for several days. He is a very clever and pious monk, very brave and tranquil in spirit."

To be worthy of the praise he had to stay for long months under incessant fire, close to death and ready to sacrifice his

life any minute, not to waver himself and inspire men with staunchness. Such was the image of Father Anika, as they called him, that stayed for ever in the memory of the city's heroic defenders.

Gen. Stepan Khrulev, believed to be one of the bravest men in the army, was restless by nature and disturbed the enemy with all kinds of tricks, sudden sallies. One was fixed on March 11, 1855. The French, at first taken unawares, then came round and man-to-man fighting started. Suddenly, in the dark, Khrulev heard a voice:

"Where are my men? Tell me, for God's sake, where are my men?"

The General saw a monk in a cassock and black klobuk, his face inordinately pale in the moonlight. He was holding a cross in his hands.

"Who are your men, Father?" Khrulev asked.

"The sailors."

"They are ahead there, but your place is at the dressing station."

"My place is where they suffer and are to be consoled or prepared for death," the hieromonk answered and rushed forward.

A witness wrote in his diary: "At the most crucial moment of the bayonet attack, when fresh enemy forces were pressing us, we heard the singing of the troparion: 'Save, O Lord, Thy people and bless Thy possession!' The retreating sailors turned back and a thunderous 'hurrah' burst forth."

A many-volume work may be written about the regimental chaplains whose names have not been mentioned in the article, the work that would throw light not only upon their deeds of valour, but also the sufferings and torture of clergymen captured by the enemy, would tell of substantial donations made by them in a year of trial, the pain they shared with the people, of the life's path of wounded and crippled chaplains which often ended outside the borders of their Homeland. Neither should one overlook the seemingly inconspicuous but highly essential activity of chaplains during epidemics frequently raging in Russia in the past. Neglecting the danger involved, regimental chaplains entered typhus or cholera barracks and homes of the ailing to say a word of hope, support the suffering or help bury the dead. During the plague epidemics in Tiflis (now Tbilisi) in 1795, Father Grigory Avramov, chaplain of the Georgian Grenadier Regiment, laboured hard and saved many people

affected with the disease. In 1812 hearkening to the voice of true Christian love, Father Yefrem Asatianov, chaplain of the Vladikavkaz Regiment, and Father Konstantin, priest of the Khotin fortress church, stayed night and day with their spiritual children down with cholera. The epidemics that took scores of lives bypassed them. No one knows the exact number of people they saved.

The government sent military units to fight epidemics, and always next to doctors, nurses and soldiers, there were regimental chaplains who called upon the suffering not to lose heart, to keep to elementary hygiene and inspired them with the hope of recovery. And if some did recover, they all shared the joy.

Neither did regimental chaplains sit with folded arms in peace time. Their labours, though outwardly imperceptible, contributed greatly to promoting the education of the soldier. Small catechetics brochures for the army might seem naive now, but every regiment had its choir and they competed with each other in singing lofty and beautiful hymns. The network of regimental churches increased. On the eve of World War I regimental chaplains conducted divine services in 27 cathedrals and

618 churches on land and in 39 chapels on board the war ships. No matter where the Russian soldier might be he knew full well that the Orthodox Church would not leave him unattended and would defend his dignity. Therefore wherever they stayed, in the desert or age-old taiga, in tents, dug-outs or under an open sky, soldiers spared no effort to build regimental churches. One of them was the church of the 28th Siberian Infantry Regiment dedicated to St. Nicholas the Miracle Worker on the outskirts of Irkutsk. Some 25,000 rubles were collected for its construction among good people, especially the military, with the treasury taking no part in the undertaking. As to the labours involved, the palm was by right to be born by Father Pavel Krakhmalev. He initiated the construction, had the funds collected and saw to it that the church was well-built and decorated. Alas, there is no trace of the church now, as of many other churches for that matter. Stolen or destroyed are magnificent icons, church plate and sacred books, and the voices of those calling for feats in the name and for the glory of Russia no longer sound there...

Boris KOSTNY

Catechetics at School

Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God

(Lk. 18.16)

The purpose of teaching the basics of religion is well known: it is the bringing up of a religious and morally sound personality. It has always been of great importance, and could not be otherwise for it is necessary for the salvation of the soul.

The teacher may only be successful in reaching the lofty goal if he performs his duties with love and a profound knowledge of catechetical literature. Also of special significance are the methods of teaching the basics of religion at school.

From the editors. We would like to note that many of the issues examined in the article being published here are urgent for us too. In spite of the activity of the Russian Orthodox Church in filling the vacuum the souls of our contemporaries have been plunged into, talk of the inexpediency of compulsory catechization continues. The present article is a reply of the Church to her opponents.

We are going through a period crucial in all respects. And could we expect anything else after living so long without God? Anywhere the right hand of the Lord stretched to support us is neglected, the morale stumbles and finally falls down. How should we raise it? We must start from the very beginning, from directing our children to the right path of Life and Truth the post-war generation lost. The round-about ways it followed have led it into a precipice.

The Orthodox Church is the institute where Christian ideals have been kept in their original ethical purity. The Orthodox Church is maintaining the image of God in man and is preaching God's Kingdom, mystic and historically real. Therefore, school catechization is unthinkable without the Church.

At school children get an education which helps them to remain staunch in adult life, to be of benefit to society, but among the disciplines they study one of vital importance is lacking—the basics of religion. The grown-up person may not remember chemical formulae, equations or some laws of physics, but the feeling awakened in him or her of the love of God perceived as a kind and merciful Father and Creator will ever stay, as a ray of light piercing the darkness, in the soul of every believer. In the course of the recent decades and up to the present day, this feeling of the Lord and attempts to awaken it have been suppressed in every way by the godless Communist system, especially in respect to the Orthodox Serbians.

The Lord, speaking through Prophet Jeremiah, said: *The tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst: the young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them* (Lam. 4.4). Children, on the whole, now live better than their fathers did. However, spiritually, morally and religiously speaking, the tongue of our Orthodox Serbian child *cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst*. Thanks be to the Lord, most of them have enough bread. But many of those baptized in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ lack spiritual food, *the living bread which came down from heaven* (Jn. 6.51). They have not been taught the basics of religion, they have had no religious education. Inadequacy of education is aggravated by other negative factors: both parents are overbusy at work and children grow up unattended, divorces are becoming ever more frequent. The vanities of life devalue the importance of religious education, few children come to church and attend divine services.

Day in and day out life is becoming ever more complicated. Many believe our life to be “the time of Apocalypse”, “the decade of sorrow”, etc. Alienation and conflicts between people and nations are growing. While mastering the forces of Nature, man is less and less master of his own self. Many are the people disoriented in the hopeless nightmare of life. We are all in great danger, especially those *tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine* (Eph. 4.14). Truly, *the days are evil* (Eph. 5.16).

However, being the faithful people,

the children of God, the children of St. Sabas, we should not lose heart. The Lord is merciful to the suffering. St. Sabas teaches, and that is what we are convinced of too, that the Holy Gospel is the most reliable compass to be guided by in the sea of life and history. He did his best to sow the seeds of the Gospel in the soul of the Serbian people. Today too St. Sabas addresses us from the pulpit which neither time nor people could shake. His prayerful concern is especially great in regard to children in whom we see our future and in whom we place our hopes.

A famous astronomer and philosopher Kepler said: “If but a single star swings off her destined orbit the entire order in the universe will be broken.” The same is true of the education of children. If from early age they do not assimilate the basic knowledge of God, it will be very difficult for them to see the purpose of Christian living. Children brought up in the spirit of Christian faith and Divine authority do not stand the risk of falling into pessimism, losing their bearings in life, their spiritual equilibrium. It is testified to by our modern life which brings forth multitudes of newly-made “super Orthodox Serbians”, “Great Serbians” who know nothing of the true faith and of God.

The school educational system in our state has for several decades been robbed of the stimulus for spiritual and moral development of our children and youth. Everything was done to impose upon our youth an atheistic world outlook. It had an early and ruinous effect on the youth and modern people in general. During these decades the Church was limited in her activity, including catechization. Today, thank God, a turn for the better is beginning to show. But the problems remain. Atheistic Serbians put obstacles in Orthodox Serbians’ way. Today the demand to include the course of catechetics in the school curriculum runs into a number of difficulties.

At present there are two approaches to the problem: catechetics should be a compulsory discipline in the school curriculum (the demand of the Church), and—this course should be an “impartial”, “neutral”, “science-based” teaching on religion and the history of religion (the demand of a number of pseudo-scientific, cultural and educational bodies). The approaches are mutually excluding.

Therefore the questions arise of whether the understanding between the Church and the school is possible, and which of the demands is fair. It is possible to get correct answers provided the aims of catechetics and of the science of religion are correctly defined.

Including catechetics in the school curriculum it is necessary to realize that Christianization in a wider sense and catechization in particular are not to be reduced to doctrinal teaching, i. e., knowledge as such. The main purpose of catechetics at school is strengthening the image of God in man, bringing him to Christ, formation of Christian consciousness and world outlook, making Christianity a way of life. Necessary also is an active participation of children in liturgical life of the Church, her Sacraments. The aim of catechization is not only the study of church traditions and the Bible; its true meaning is soteriological in nature, that is, its goal is the salvation of man, the transformation of man and the world.

Many people say: the parents should let their children decide whether they will attend catechetics lessons or not, or: never force the child to attend catechetics lessons if he is not willing... The view is characteristic of people who grew up and were educated in the times of atheism, and they are in the majority here. There will be many more evil ideas, baneful for the soul. The name of madness and delusion of this world is Legion. Children are unable to take decisions for they are not mature enough and do not realize what they will need in the future. Besides, ideas like these are voiced only when they speak of teaching catechetics. Why did everyone keep silent when Marxism, introduced into the curriculum as a compulsory discipline, was being hammered into the heads of schoolchildren and students? No one would say then: let the children decide whether they want to study it or not. They were forced to do it, though it might have been repulsive for people of any age. Marxism was a compulsory and major discipline in the school curriculum.

I think the demand of the Church to include catechetics in the school curriculum as a compulsory discipline will be of benefit. To make catechetics an unobligatory course to be attended at will would serve the purposes of our adversaries and opponents who are out to deny the

Orthodox the possibility to teach their children the basics of religion, especially today when a broad campaign is being launched against Orthodoxy. If the attendance is made free, unfortunately, many of our weak-willed Orthodox, under the influence of the atheists, will consider the course unobligatory for their children. All the while, the Moslems and Croats will attend their lessons of religion as they have done before. It should be taken into account that the teaching of Marxism as a compulsory discipline, which destroyed people's souls and doomed many to hell and eternal ruin, was spread mostly among the Orthodox (if those who betrayed their fathers' faith may be considered worthy of the name).

Why, then, is such a discipline as catechetics, through which souls are being saved and brought closer to the Lord and Creator, not be made compulsory at school? It was the basics of religion that St. Sabas taught us, establishing the Orthodox faith among his people, fostering in them good morals and implanting good customs. The Serbian Orthodox education is unthinkable without the patronage of the one who laid the foundations of the Serbian Church and national education, who taught the Serbians to pray to the Lord, that is, of St. Sabas. We, therefore, believe that there must be an icon of St. Sabas in every school, in every educational institution.

For catechetics to be successful and be in a position to cultivate genuine spiritual values, faith is to become a social cause and not a "private affair" as it is now, an inevitable evil to be tolerated. Consequently, catechetics should be a compulsory discipline. School curriculum is to be restructured for the purpose and made free from atheism.

If we want to bring up our children in the spirit of Orthodoxy we must put an end to the separation of the Church from the school. The family, the school and the Church make an integral whole in the matter of building up a human character. The Church teaches that children may be brought up solely through love, piety and good example, because children not so much listen to what you are saying as look at what you are doing. Therefore it is on us—parents, teachers, tutors, priests—that the future of our people hinges.

*Father M. SIMIĆ
(Serbian Orthodox Church)*

The Way of Rus from Kiev to Vladimir

Everybody who knows at least something about the history of Rus has some idea about Kievan and Vladimir (or Vladimir-Suzdal) Rus. However, the reasons of the rise of the the Vladimir Rus after a long period of the existence of Kievan Rus (nearly 4 centuries) are insufficiently studied. This problem gives rise to numerous arguments and disputes especially heated today when the relations between Kiev and Moscow—the heiress of Vladimir, have been aggravated.

Kievan Rus flourished under Prince Yaroslav the Wise, given sometimes the titles of “Caesar” and “Kagan”. He ruled in Kiev (with a small break) from 1016 up to his demise in 1054. The epoch which preceded his rule can be called the heroic epoch in the history of Rus (9th-10th centuries). It was the time of practically constant wars, distant, thousand-kilometre-long raids, intensive foreign policy and trade, all kinds of “travels”; this epoch was vividly depicted in the Russian heroic epos—bylinas about Ilia of Murom, Dobrynya, Volkh Vseslavich and others¹.

Under Yaroslav the Wise Rus finally acquired its territorial boundaries and concentrated on its internal affairs. However, the location of the centre—the capital of the state—did not quite suite its purpose, for Kiev was situated not far from Rus’s southern border. Another important town of the 9th-10th centuries—Ladoga (150-200 years older than Novgorod), a kind of Kiev’s northern “filiation” (the fact conclusively proved today by numerous historians and archaeologists), was also situated on the border. Such a location was quite logical and even necessary in the heroic epoch.

The conclusion of the formation of the state of Rus and concentration on internal matters predetermined the transfer of the capital into the heart of the country. Of course, in the time of Yaroslav the Wise one could hardly think of any other capital than the grand city of Kiev. However, in 1157, only a hundred years (a period of time not too long for history) after the demise of Yaroslav the Wise a very young town of Vladimir on the Klyazma became the new capital of Rus. This fortress was founded forty years earlier, in 1108, by Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh, Prince Yaroslav’s grandson, and was named after its founder, which lended special importance to the town.

There is a widely-spread opinion that the main reason for transferring the capital of Rus were raids to Kiev of nomads from the South-Russian steppe, especially of Polovtsians. However, when we see into the heart of the matter a question inevitably arises: why was it in the 12th century that Rus came to fear nomads and not in the 9th century when numerous enemies attacked Kiev and the country was undoubtedly much less developed and powerful? There is a much more important factor to disprove this opinion: it was in the beginning of the 12th century that Polovtsians (to say nothing of other nomads) ceased their raids almost completely.

S. Pletneva, an outstanding expert on the history of nomad tribes, following from numerous sources drew up a table demonstrating the chronology and intensity of Polovtsians’ raids to Rus. The table clearly shows that the greatest number of raids falls on the 1090s, then the number constantly decreased and between 1120 and 1150 there was not a single attack on Rus causing it more or less sound damage. And no wonder! A great military and state leader Vladimir Monomakh, pursuing a wise and considered policy, dealt such a crushing blow to Polovtsians that by 1018 a great part of them had preferred to retreat thousands of versts from the borders of Rus, to the Caucasus, where many of them became mercenaries of David the Builder, ruler of Abkhazian Tsardom³ and those who stayed at the borders of Rus made peace with Kiev. Only starting with the 1160s, i. e., when the centre of Rus was already in Vladimir, Polovtsians’ raids to the southern border of the state became more frequent again.

By that time Kiev was already a centre of a historical, not a political significance. The power of Rus was realized in the North. A. Nasonov, a distinguished

Russian historian of the new time, has proved that already in the beginning of the 12th century Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh (ruled in 1113-1125), father of Prince Yuri Dolgoruky, the last prince under whom Kiev was the centre of Rus, decided to transfer the capital to the north⁴. However, the idea was finally realized by his grandson Andrei Bogolyubsky. In 1155 he voluntarily left Kiev for Vladimir where in a short period of time he built the grand Dormition Cathedral (1160) and the Protecting Veil Church on the Nerl (1165) which not only equalled Kievan architectural achievements but also surpassed them in some respects and now belong to the greatest works of the world architecture.

The new capital was being built in accordance with Kievan tradition, which was of great importance evidently. The landscape of the town of Vladimir itself was very much like that of Kiev (the fact noted by many historians), especially if one takes into consideration that the Klyazma River was much more full-flowing at the time and could be compared with the Dnieper. It is no doubt that Vladimir Monomakh chose the place for a new town proceeding from this circumstance. Andrei Bogolyubsky, his grandson, must have had the same grounds for choosing this, then very young, town as his capital though old and big towns—Rostov and Suzdal, were situated nearby.

In 1164 Prince Andrei built a monumental Golden Gate of the town of Vladimir, which evidently got its name from the Golden Gate of Kiev, which, in turn, was named in honour of the Golden Gate of Constantinople. Leaving Kiev forever in 1155 Prince Andrei took with him an icon of the Most Holy Mother of God "decorated it and placed in his church in Vladimir"⁵, as Lavrenty's chronicle reads (the chronicle was written in Vladimir).

The icon mentioned in the chronicle is one of the most revered icons in Rus, the so-called "Tenderness" or "Eleusa", of Byzantine origin. A well-known art critic V. Lazarev (1897-1976) noted: "One could say a lot about the great role the Vladimir Icon of the Mother of God played in the development of the Russian statehood and culture... Appearing practically in all critical moments of the Russian history [in 1480 it was transferred from the Vladimir Dormition Cathedral to the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin—V. K.] the Vladimir icon stayed one of the most revered shrines of Russia"⁶. It should also be mentioned that in Old Rus this icon was considered to be the creation of St. Luke the Evangelist and thus symbolized the link of Vladimir not only with Constantinople but also with the early Christianity.

Historian N. Voronin, who devoted his whole life to the history and culture of the Vladimir Rus wrote that the activity of Prince Andrei Bogolyubsky was aimed at "enhancing the importance of the new capital and proving its equality with Kiev, 'the mother of Russian towns', and Constantinople, 'the Eastern Rome', itself"⁷.

Completely new traits of statehood, culture and spirituality were developing in the new centre of Rus. It was here that the moving and heartfelt cult of the Most Holy Mother of God appeared. "...Andrei Bogolyubsky established in Vladimir a fervent veneration of the Most Holy Mother of God. Churches were being built in her honour, a new feast—of the Protecting Veil, was introduced. The chronicle of the time of Andrei Bogolyubsky was composed as a chain of miracles worked by the Mother of God. Chroniclers tried to prove that the town of Vladimir and its princes were under a special patronage of the Theotokos... This particular laudation of the Mother of God in the chronicle began approximately in 1160, the year of the construction of the Dormition Cathedral in Vladimir..."⁸.

To be sure it is only one of the traits of the new epoch of the Russian history. But a more important thing is that it was being formed in the heart of Rus mostly by the people who had come from Southern, Kievan Rus.

As it has already been mentioned, the one who gave birth to the Vladimir Rus, deliberately or not (and the latter is even more significant for it testifies to the fact that History itself was acting through the man's deeds), was one of the greatest Kievan princes Vladimir Monomakh. It should be noted, however, that at the age of thirteen Monomakh was sent by his father Prince Vsevolod Yaroslavich to reign to Rostov, where he stayed till 1076. Then his father transferred Monomakh to Chernigov but the land of Rostov and Suzdal remained his home. And it is characteristic that in 1093 Monomakh sent to Rostov his elder son Mstislav the Great and later, his younger son Yuri Dolgoruky. In 1107 Prince Vladimir arrived in Rostov to marry Yuri to the daughter of Ayepa, the great Polovtsian khan, and not to a European princess (this was a manifestation of his

concern for the internal rather than foreign policy of Rus), and founded the town of Vladimir⁹.

As to Yuri Dolgoruky, he spent practically all his life in the Vladimir Rus though not in the town of Vladimir (where he established a prince's court and in 1128 built a church dedicated to his heavenly patron St. George) but thirty versts to the north of it, in the town of Suzdal. But he still sought to live in Kiev and in the end of his life, in 1155 (he died in 1157), came to reign there. The very name "Dolgoruky" (meaning "long-armed"—*Tr.*) he was given for the desire and ability to reign both in the land of Vladimir and of Kiev. Prince Yuri regarded his son Andrei Bogolyubsky, who reigned in Vladimir since 1140, as his successor and temporarily made him the ruler of the town of Vyshgorod, 20 versts away from Kiev.

However, Prince Andrei, against the will of his father, left Vyshgorod to return back to Vladimir and after the demise of his father refused to take his place in Kiev. As a chronicle reads, "Grand Prince Andrei Yurievich came from Kiev to be the grand prince of Vladimir, the seat of grand princes since then".

The chronicle may have described the event which had already taken place and was generally recognized, for officially the first grand prince of Rus sitting in Vladimir and not in Kiev was not Prince Andrei but his younger brother and successor Prince Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo ("the big nest"—*Tr.*) whose reign began in 1176. However, the chronicle is right essentially.

So, analyzing the Russian history, one can see that such outstanding political leaders of the 10th-11th centuries as St. Olga, Svyatoslav, St. Vladimir and Yaroslav are inseparably linked with Kiev. Their great successor, Vladimir Monomakh, laid the first stone in the foundation of the new, North-Eastern Rus, while his distinguished successors.—St. Andrei Bogolyubsky, his brother Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo, Orthodox Prince St. Aleksandr Nevsky (Vsevolod's grandson) were leaders of the Vladimir and Kievan Rus already.

It is clear that not only princes and their closest surrounding moved to the Vladimir Rus. It was a nationwide migration, the clear evidence of which was giving a number of towns and even rivers of the Vladimir Rus the names of Kievan towns and rivers (an exceptional case in history). The first to analyze this fact must have been V. Klyuchevsky. Having cited Prince Andrei Bogolyubsky's proud words about the Vladimir Rus in which he "built many great towns and villages settling a multitude of inhabitants there", Klyuchevsky asked himself a question: "Where did the population inhabiting these new Suzdal [i. e., Vladimir—*V. K.*] lands come from?" and answered it in the following way:

"One should lend an attentive ear to the names of the new towns: Pereyaslavl, Zvenigorod, Starodub, Vyshgorod, Galich—all these are South Russian names which can be seen practically at any page of an old Kievan chronicle... Names of Kievan rivers Lybed and Pochaina can be come across in Ryazan, Vladimir, Nizhni Novgorod, in the Klyazma Region. There is an Irpen River in the Kievan land... The Klyazma River's tributary in the Vladimir Uyezd is also called the Irpen... There were three Pereyaslavls in the Old Rus: Southern or Russian Pereyaslavl... Pereyaslavl Ryazansky (now Ryazan) and Pereyaslavl Zalessky... Each of the three towns stands on the Trubezh River. This transfer of the South Russian geographical nomenclature to the remote north was the deed of migrants from the Southern, Kievan lands... Finally we find an evidence of the same direction of migration... in the Russian folk-lore. The cycle of bylinas about powerful bogatyr's of the time of Prince Vladimir appeared in the South, but now they do not remember these bylinas there and have long forgotten about Vladimir's bogatyr's... While in the far-off north the bylinas have been preserved surprisingly intact... In the centre of the Great Rus they also remember of Vladimir's bogatyr's. How could it happen that the historical folk-lore burst out into bloom where it had never been sown and was lost where it had grown up? Evidently, these poetic legends must have migrated along with the population which had made them..." V. Klyuchevsky also draws the reader's attention to the fact that "Yuri Dolgoruky having begun the construction of new towns in his Suzdal Volost populated them gathering people from everywhere and giving them 'a considerable loan'..."¹⁰.

As a matter of fact the transfer of the Russian power to the Vladimir-Suzdal Rus was already clearly depicted in *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (The Lay of Igor's Host). In 1185, i. e., only 30 years after Prince Andrei Bogolyubsky had come to reign to Vla-

dimir, the main Russian power that according to the poetic legend could "spill the Volga" and "bail out the Don" was concentrated in this very land.

It is undoubtful also that the most active and, in modern parlance, cultured people of Kievan Rus were coming to settle in the Vladimir Rus. The clear evidence of it are splendid churches erected in a very short period of time, beginning from the middle of the 12th century, in Vladimir, on the River Nerl, in Pereyaslavl, Yuriev-Polskoi (the town founded by Prince Yuri Dolgoruky in honour of his heavenly patron) and in Suzdal.

Now let us get back to the reasons of the transfer of the centre of Rus to Vladimir.

As it has been mentioned above already the migration became a reality when Polovtsians' raids to Rus ceased practically completely (and began again and were increasing while the population was leaving for the land of Vladimir). By 1120 (it has also been mentioned above) Polovtsians were powerless in their struggle with Kievan Rus and the greater part of them retreated to the Caucasus. Historian A. Popov notes "an undoubtfully correct reference in a chronicle to the fact that in the first quarter of the 12th century. Polovtsians were nearly completely driven out of this steppe (South Russian) by Russians"¹¹. It concerns the "war-like" Polovtsians while their "peaceful" part had already become part of Rus. That is why a popular until today, strange as it may seem, explanation of the transfer of the capital of Rus to the North by the danger of Polovtsians' raids lacks more or less serious grounds.

There is another point of view of the reason of Rus's departure from the steppe, much more important from historical point of view: a premonition of the Mongol invasion which began 130 years after Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh founded the future Vladimir Rus and 80 years after Prince Andrei Bogolyubsky transferred the capital of Rus from Kiev to Vladimir. And though the coming of Mongols, absolutely unknown to Russians before, was, according to numerous sources, quite unexpected for the contemporaries, there is certain sense in this explanation, though not devoid of mysticism, which may be revealed only through analyzing the history of Rus. If, according to the well-known definition by Schlegel, we regard a historian as a prophet turned back to the past, we have all grounds to say that if by the time of the Mongol invasion the main power of Rus had still remained near the steppe, the future of the Russian state and culture would have been, undoubtedly, quite different, and the great power named Russia may have not been formed at all...

Mentioning this point of view I am far from sharing the now popular discourses of "alternatives" in history. There was not and could not be any alternative, for beginning with the reign of Vladimir Monomakh Rus was unswervingly moving to the North. It was evidently the only historical path of the country. However, those who are interested in it have the right to see in the moving of Rus to the north some mystic connection with the future Mongol invasion.

To my mind, however, another aspect of the problem is much more important: in the beginning of the history of Rus its capital was near the Southern border of the state (Kiev was located only 150 versts from the Ros, the tributary of the Dnieper); another, Northern centre of Rus—Ladoga, was also on the border. Through the Dnieper Rus had access to the Black Sea, and through the Ladoga Lake and the Neva River flowing out of it—to the Baltic Sea. And it was a matter of great historical importance: this access to the outer world was necessary for the formation of the new great state and culture. A comparison inevitably comes to mind: in 1703 Peter the Great transferred the capital from the centre of the country to the sea border with the West. While in the 12th century quite an opposite historical move was made: the capital was transferred to the heart of the country, to its actual centre.

This transfer, this really great migration was undoubtedly an extremely difficult task for even as the crow flies the distance between Vladimir and Kiev is one thousand kilometres; besides there were portages on the migrants' way where they had to drag their load and dense virgin forests (the land of Vladimir was called Zaleskaya, i. e., "lying behind the forest") they had to work their way through. And nevertheless the migration was done.

As an Ukrainian historian notes, in the 12th century "farmers, town-builders, craftsmen, icon-painters, architects, book-writers were going to the fertile regions"¹² of the Vladimir land from Southern Rus.

One more point of view should be mentioned. It is reflected in the Russian historio-

graphy. According to it Kiev lost its role because Polovtsians and other tribes of the steppe had seized trade routes of the south and south-east so important for Kiev. But this is a superficial judgement. First, an outstanding historian of the East A. Yakubovsky (1886-1953) in his work *Desht-i-Kynchak* (the name of the Polovtsian steppe) wrote about Rus in the 11th-13th centuries, before the Mongol invasion, that "it would be an error to think that the relations between Russians and nomads of the Polovtsian steppe were that of constant enmity... relations between Russian princes and Polovtsian khans did not prevent people from trading. Merchants with their goods freely went from one side to the other without any risk of an attack... Free passing of caravans through hostile camps was typical"¹³.

Second, in her article "Kievan Rus and Nomads" (it is an analysis of the problem beginning from the 14th century) R. Mavrodina writes about the decrease in trade between Kiev and the South in the 12th century: "...in the times of Polovtsians' supremacy in the Black Sea region trade routes were of no vital political importance any more... otherwise forces would have been found in the Russian state to protect these routes as it had been in the 10th-11th centuries, for example"¹⁴.

Indeed, trade with Byzantium, the Caucasus, Khorezm, Baghdad which at the early stage of the history of Rus played a vital role giving the country access to the outer world, in the 12th century lost its former decisive role for the development of the Russian statehood and culture. And it was not at the will of Polovtsians but of the history of Rus itself that Kiev's role in trade decreased.

Of course, trade is only one of the ways of getting "access to the world" mentioned above. By the 12th century Kiev, as the centre located very close to the then border of Rus, lost its importance in many other spheres as well. That made it possible and necessary to transfer the capital to the actual centre of Rus.

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2. See: *Old Russian Princedoms of the 10th-13th centuries*. Moscow, 1975, p. 266.
3. The name of the state uniting Abkhazia and a part of Georgia before the Mongol invasion.
4. See: A. N. Nasonov. *Russian Land and the Formation of the Territory of the Old Russian State*. Moscow, 1951, pp. 181-183.
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9. All these facts are thoroughly checked and analysed in the monumental work by V. A. Kuchkin *The Formation of the State Territory of the North-Eastern Rus in the 10th-14th centuries*. Moscow, 1984.
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VADIM KOZHINOV

(To be continued)

St. Sergy of Radonezh and Spiritual Traditions of the Vladimir-Suzdal Rus

One hundred years ago historian V. Klyuchevsky made a speech at the Moscow Theological Academy at the jubilee solemnities on the 500th anniversary of the demise of St. Sergy of Radonezh. Without going into details of the saint's biography, he outlined the essential—a general role of the great starets as a gatherer of the Russian lands, a zealot whose spiritual labours inspired and fortified people in a time crucial for the country. However, the historian bypassed another, no less important question—what were the worldly sources of the grandeur of the Hegumen of Radonezh? Under what influences was his outlook formed?

Evidently, the primary influence was that of the rich spiritual culture of North-Eastern Rus focussed in the 12th-13th centuries in the capital city of Vladimir, the saint's native town of Rostov the Great being a major centre. Chronicles and other sources offer scant information on the spiritual life of Rostov in the first hundred years after the Batu invasion. However, some peculiarities may be noted. Due to the wise policy of the Rostov Princes Boris and Gleb and of their mother, Princess Maria, daughter of Prince St. Mikhail of Chernigov and sister of St. Yefrosinya of Suzdal, in the latter half of the 13th century the Rostov land was not ravaged by the Tatars as were other towns of North-Eastern Rus—Vladimir, Suzdal, Pereyaslavl-Zalessky—which were repeatedly plundered by the Horde punitive raids. Studies of chronicle sources show that in the period from the Batu invasion up to the end of the 13th century Rostov had never been plundered by the Tatars. As a result it became the safest treasurer of the Vladimir-Suzdal culture threatened at the time. A number of concrete historical phenomena provided for it, such as the cessation in the late 13th century of the rivalry between Rostov and Vladimir the preceding period was marked with, and the growing of the church-administrative role of Rostov conditioned by the weakening of the power of the Metropolitan of Kiev.

A notable manifestation of Rostov's growing importance in the second half of the 13th century was the construction

of stone buildings, extensive for the time. When Varfolomei was born, Rostov had already had several monasteries, of St. Ioann and of St. Gregory among them. Princess Maria founded the Monastery of the Saviour in the city environs soon after her husband, Prince Vasilek, had been executed by the Tatars in 1238.

The early 14th century was the time of flourishing of two more cloisters—of St. Avraamy and the Epiphany, and of St. Peter, the latter founded by Prince Pyotr at the site where Apostles Sts. Peter and Paul had appeared to him. In the environs of the city there were also the Belogostitsky Monastery and the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene (on the Sara River).

Cloisters were sources of the living faith. A traditional legend was connected with each of them, such as a miraculous appearance of St. John the Divine to Monk Avraamy. It said that a Rostov monk, Avraamy, famed for his piety, tried in vain to crush a pagan idol which stood at the city's suburb. Once he met a wandering starets and told him of his troubles. The starets said that Avraamy would be able to crush the idol only if he visited Tsargrad (Constantinople) and prayed at the Church of St. John the Divine. Without hesitation the monk launched on a long journey.

Avraamy's resolution was immediately rewarded. Just four versts away from Rostov he met "a man of awesome mien, bald and bearded". He was the Apostle and Evangelist St. John the Divine, who handed Avraamy a miraculous crozier with Christ depicted on it and said that the monk would be able to smite the idol with it. These words soon came true. The idol was overthrown, and a monastery with the Church of the Epiphany was founded on the site.

A small wooden church dedicated to the Apostle and Evangelist St. John the Divine was built up on the spot where the Apostle appeared to Avraamy.

It could hardly be possible that the young Varfolomei did not reflect upon the miraculous appearance of the Apostle which had taken place close to his native home. Undoubtedly, the image of the

courageous monk got imprinted in his soul. Years would pass by and St. Sergy would overthrow stone pagan idols in the wooded gorge of Belye Bogi (White Gods) near Radonezh where he intended to found a monastery. The old Radonezh legend kept for us the memory of the event. And a century later, icon-painters would represent St. Sergy together with the saints of Rostov—Leonty, Isaia and Ignaty—and Monk Avraamy. That is how we see them on the icon of the late 15th century kept in a Rostov museum.

The Dormition Cathedral consecrated in Rostov in 1231 was a remarkable work of the Vladimir-Suzdal school of architecture. Its grandeur and the beauty of divine service and decor impressed, among others, the noble youth, Khan Berke's nephew, who, in the late 13th century, was baptized in Rostov with the name of Pyotr, that is what the old Rostov "Tale of Pyotr, the Horde Prince" tells us. This work which may be dated from the late 13th century is notable for its publicistic nature. Its main idea is that Rus would be saved from the Horde's sword and yoke not by the power of arms—for what kind of arms can resist the wrath of the Lord—but through true piety and repentance.

Closeness of spiritual search in Rostov to those in Vladimir is manifest. The same idea, though more distinctly expressed, is to be found in the accusatory "Sermons" of Bishop Serapion of Vladimir, a famous preacher: the liberation from the alien yoke and rebirth of the country may result solely from the moral renewal of people on the path of general repentance and strict fulfilment of the Gospel commandments. Such words found response in people's souls. Some time later the son of a Rostov boyar Kirill, Varfolomei, would realize what Bishop Serapion of Vladimir had called his compatriots to. He would make the fulfilment of the most important commandments of the Saviour—love of the Lord and love of one's neighbour—the purpose of his life.

While remembering Bishop Serapion as a spiritual forerunner of St. Sergy, one cannot fail to remember a circumstance of no little importance: before he came to the North-Eastern Rus the famous preacher was an archimandrite of the Kiev-Pechery Monastery. The role of the cloister in the spiritual life not only of the Southern but of North-Eastern Rus as well was great. The first pastors and

preachers of Christianity in the Rostov-Suzdal lands were the Rostov saints Leonty and Isaia, who had been brought up at the Kiev-Pechery Monastery. It may be assumed that it was they who brought to North-Eastern Rus the tradition of special veneration of the Mother of God their own cloister was remarkable for. With time the tradition came to be peculiar for Vladimir-Suzdal Rus and found embodiment in the miracle-working Vladimir Icon of the Theotokos and the grand cathedrals dedicated to the Dormition of the Mother of God built up in its main cities. The cathedral of the Kiev-Pechery Monastery served as a model for the Rostov cathedral.

It is hardly to be doubted that it was in his childhood in Rostov, from his pious parents Kirill and Maria, that the Hegumen of Radonezh acquired a special prayerful adoration of the Mother of God which he carried all through his earthly life and which was crowned with the appearance of the Theotokos to St. Sergy.

The bond of St. Sergy with the Kievan spiritual tradition was probably being strengthened by the family traditions. According to A. Artynov, a Rostov student of local lore of the 19th century who examined the now extant Rostov chronicles, the father of St. Sergy, boyar Kirill, came from the old aristocratic family of Simonids. Descendants of Simon, a Varangian, on whose donations the Kiev-Pechery Monastery cathedral was built, moved to the North-Eastern Rus in the suite of Prince Yuri Dolgoruky. Artynov's data have recently attracted the attention of Yu. Begunov, a student of the Old Russian literature, who has accepted them as reliable. In this context it is appropriate to recall peacemaking efforts of St. Sergy, his attempts to reconcile princes constantly at war with each other and to put an end to fratricide. The mission was far from easy. It demanded great tact and dignity. Undoubtedly, St. Sergy could talk to princes with tranquillity and firmness. The firmness was provided for by the sacredness of the goal. But the family tradition had a lot to do with it too. The contemporaries of St. Sergy knew him not only as a monk-zealot. Standing behind him were generations of Rostov boyars who had managed to retain their dignity in the face of the most wrathful of the Rurikids. He belonged to the narrow circle of the

Rostov-Suzdal aristocracy who had blood relationship and community of interests and background with the ruling dynasty.

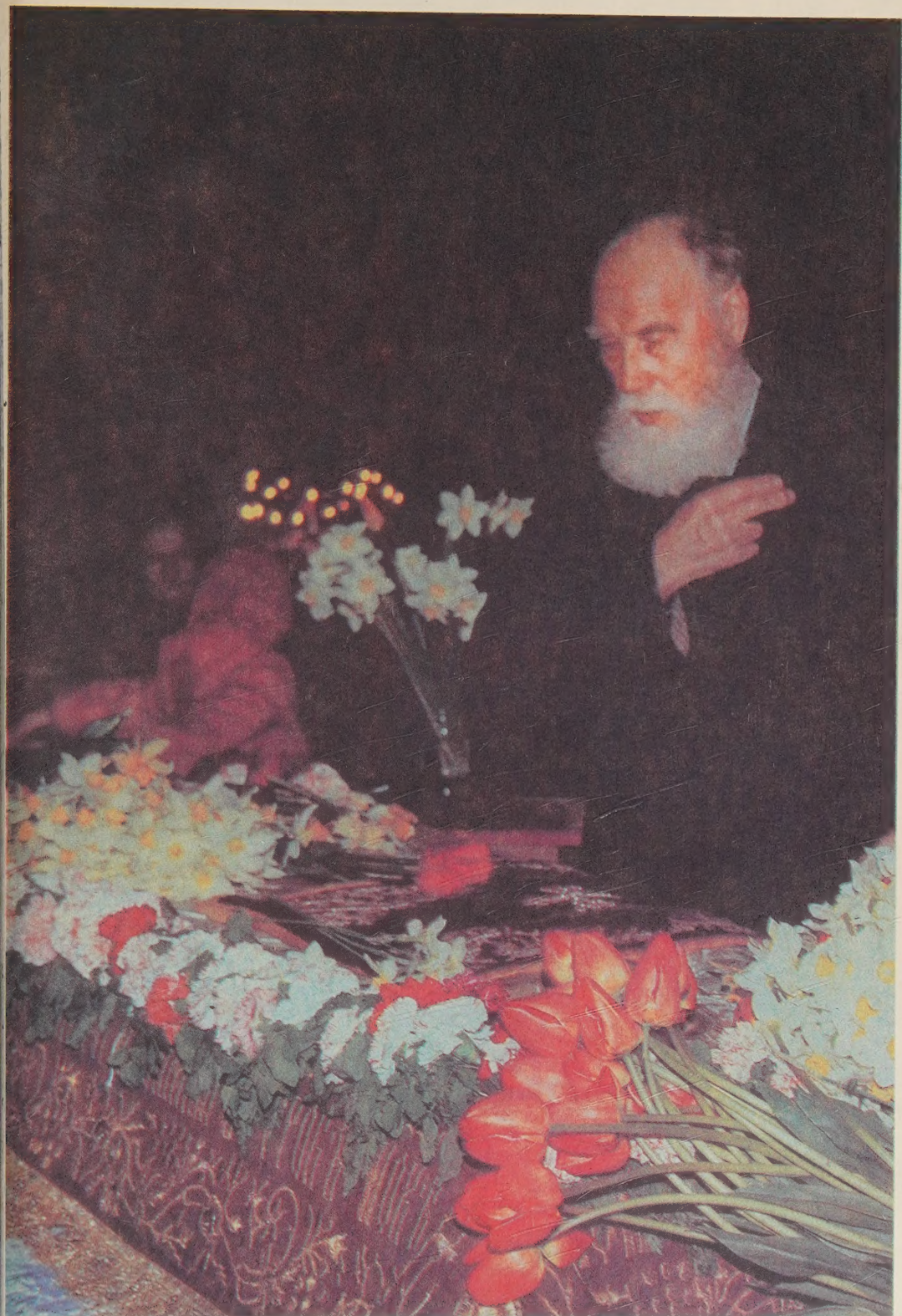
It might have been the Kiev-Pechery tradition which made itself felt in Rostov too that was the source of St. Sergy's prayerful veneration of the Holy Trinity. We know that the over-the-gates church of the Kiev-Pechery cloister built in the early 12th century by Prince Nikolai the Holy was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The church was a kind of palladium of the monastery.

Proof of the fact that St. Sergy highly estimated the Kiev-Pechery tradition he had taken in when still in Rostov may be found in his *Life* too. While describing the activity of the "great starets" as the spiritual leader of a monastic community, the hagiographer often borrows fragments from the *Life of Feodosy of Pechery* editing them but slightly and elaborating the style. It was

doubtlessly prompted by the real state of things: as a hegumen, St. Sergy in many respects followed St. Feodosy of Pechery.

The unique personality of St. Sergy, the irresistible power of his spirituality and his might may largely be explained by "pure harmony" which, according to writer B. Zaitsev, was the core of his character. Reflecting upon the source of this harmony one involuntarily recalls the saint's origins, his Rostov roots. It was there in Rostov that the sophisticated, cool Vladimir-Suzdal culture, aristocratic in its nature, met with the excessive fervour of the Kiev-Pechery fathers' ascetic feat. The result of this encounter of the two great spiritual forces was St. Sergy's spirituality—unique harmony of faith and reason, of the earthly and the heavenly.

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BEFORE THE HOLY SHROUD ON GOOD FRIDAY



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